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ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET  
SIR THOS. BYAM MARTIN, G.C.B.

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ADJUTANT OF THE ARMY

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LETTERS AND PAPERS

OF

ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET

Sir Thos. Byam Martin

G.C.B.

EDITED BY

SIR RICHARD VESEY HAMILTON, G.C.B.

ADMIRAL

VOL. III.

47688



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*This volume—LETTERS AND PAPERS  
OF SIR THOMAS BYAM MARTIN—  
announced for last year, has been unavoidably  
delayed, but is now issued on the 1900 subscription.*

*May, 1901.*

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## INTRODUCTION

AT the close of volume ii. Byam Martin was left second in command at Plymouth, with the duty of sending all the supplies from that port to Wellington's army. After the overthrow of Napoleon in 1814, he commanded a squadron of the fleet assembled at Spithead, under H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence, Admiral of the Fleet, to do honour to the allied sovereigns and continental princes then visiting this country (pp. 1-4). It was on this occasion, when inspecting our arsenal, that Alexander, the Emperor of Russia, remarked, 'Why, this resembles rather the preparation of a great nation for the commencement of a war, than the stores still remaining to it at its termination.'<sup>1</sup> When Byam Martin was introduced to him at the review, the Emperor presented him with a valuable snuff-box and personally thanked him for his valuable services to Russia, which, he said publicly, had saved Riga. Byam Martin's small squadron had, in fact, acted exactly as Sydney Smith's had at Acre: it had cut the French communication by sea, necessitating their siege train and heavy stores

<sup>1</sup> Alison, chap. lxxxix.

going by land over bad roads, instead of by sea to Libau, where they would not have been far from Mittau, the capital of Courland, with probably good roads between it and its sea-port. General Essen, Governor of Riga, supposed that Macdonald would be able to invest that city about July 14th, but said that it would 'take five weeks and 10,000 horses to bring up the cannon for the siege' (*ante*, ii. 213). The French main army had already lost 'a vast number' of horses (ii. 218). If the French had had the command of the sea, stores might have even been sent up the Gulf of Riga, and landed very close to Macdonald's army, had it invested the town.

Our Government attached great importance to Wellington receiving the earliest possible news of the renewal of hostilities in Germany, if the negotiations at Prague in the summer of 1813 should be unsuccessful. The armistice of Poischwitz, agreed to on June 4th, came to an end on August 11th, but such was the slowness of communication at that period that on August 25th (pp. 6-8) the failure of the negotiations was still unknown in London. Byam Martin's mission to Antwerp in August 1814 (pp. 17-33) revealed the vast preparations which had been made there by Napoleon to wrest the empire of the sea from this country when he had subjugated Europe. He always remembered that England had ruined his prospects in the East at the commencement of his career. His vast naval designs in course of preparation in the Scheldt amply justified the policy of the Government in sending so large a force in 1809 to capture Antwerp, and destroy



its shipping, stores and docks,<sup>1</sup> as it would have done but for the incompetence of the general. The commission executed its difficult work speedily and satisfactorily to the other commissions (pp. 26, 27), judging from the parting compliments exchanged.

In October 1812, the Emperor of Russia applied for permission to send his fleet to winter in England, as he considered it would not be safe at either Cronstadt or Sweaborg, should the French march on St. Petersburg (*ante*, vol. ii. p. 311). I had supposed that after the retreat of the French from Moscow, the scheme had been abandoned, and was greatly surprised to find, by the later despatches at the Record Office, that the Russian fleet arrived in England in December 1812, and remained in our ports till 1814, Russia receiving an annual subsidy of 500,000*l.* for its maintenance. It is a point that seems to have escaped the notice of our historians, nor have I met with any mention of it, except in the 'Naval Chronicle,'<sup>2</sup> which records its arrival at Chatham and its force. The more important events of the period presumably crowded it out. By the kindness of Vice-Admiral Andoe, lately superintendent of Chatham Dockyard, I have ascertained that this fleet was a white elephant, of which the authorities there were glad to be relieved.

On the return of Napoleon from Elba, Byam Martin was sent in command of a small squadron to the Scheldt, to assist the army in Belgium, if required by the Duke of Wellington; a duty for which his appointment as commissioner at Antwerp

<sup>1</sup> James, *Naval History* (cr. 8vo), iv. 433.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. xxix. p. 11.

in the preceding year peculiarly qualified him. This was his last active service afloat. His flag was struck at Plymouth in September 1815, when he received a most complimentary letter from the first Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Melville (pp. 66, 67), under whom he had long served.

At p. 63 Byam Martin refers to the moot question as to whether Napoleon when received on board the *Bellerophon*, and when he breakfasted on board the *Superb* with Rear-Admiral Sir Henry Hotham, was or was not treated as Emperor. Some time afterwards, when, in a measure, on his trial at the bar of public opinion, Maitland wrote that on board the *Bellerophon*, Bonaparte 'never attempted to exact such respect; and so far from its being shown to him, he had not even the honours due to a general officer paid on his coming on board;' but he added—'any honours that could be construed into those due to the former rank he had held, did not originate with me and certainly were not demanded by him.'<sup>1</sup> This is really an admission that some such honours were paid, though they were very probably exaggerated by popular report; and this view is corroborated by the story written at the time, in all the freedom of familiar correspondence, by Hotham's flag-captain—Captain, afterwards Sir Humphrey Senhouse. Of Bonaparte on board the *Bellerophon* he wrote:—'He plays the Emperor in everything, and he has taken possession of the after-cabin entirely, and of the table as well as of the general arrangement of the cabin. The morning after coming on board the *Bellerophon*, he sent to Captain

<sup>1</sup> Marshall, *Royal Naval Biography*, vol. iii. p. 398.



Maitland to request the pleasure of his company to breakfast.' And when he went on board the *Superb* to breakfast he 'was received with our yards manned and with every attention customary with a general commanding-in-chief, but that of saluting him.'<sup>1</sup> I have not found Maitland's original letter reporting the embarkation; but when reporting the negotiation prior to it, as also in Hotham's orders to Maitland, and in correspondence with Lord Keith, 'Napoleon Bonaparte' is the term invariably used.

In 1816 Martin was appointed, first, deputy comptroller, and then, comptroller of the navy, and head of the Navy Board, an appointment by patent from the Sovereign, now merged, with advantage, in the Admiralty; and this he held till his supersession in 1831. It was a period of great economy and but little shipbuilding after our long war, and afforded but little scope for the display of the administrative abilities which he undoubtedly possessed. Although the advent of steam was to him, as to every old sailor, personally distasteful, he fully recognised its important future. The letters of Mr. Walker and Professor Barlow (pp. 71-4) on the deviation of the compass, then but little known, show that he was not indifferent to the aids science afforded to navigation; and his frequent reference to Sir Robert Sepping's improvements in shipbuilding is evidence of his high appreciation of that important work. Sir H. B. Neale's letter of April 14th, 1824, when commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean (pp. 79-82), gives an account of a dispute with the Dey

<sup>1</sup> *Macmillan's Magazine*, vol. lxxvi. (September 1897), pp. 329-333.

of Algiers, scarcely mentioned in history. The easy capture of the town by the French in 1830 proves the correctness of Neale's judgment, that it would easily fall to a joint attack by land and sea. The sea defences had been so strengthened since Exmouth's battle in 1816, that an attack by ships alone would have been very risky.

The conference with the Cabinet (pp. 97, 98) on our ship-building programme shows that even in 1826 our statesmen were becoming alarmed at the naval progress of other nations, particularly of the Americans, who, as in 1795, were building ships superior in size to those of the same class in our navy. The Lord High Admiral was also much alarmed at the low state of our navy stores (pp. 100, 101) in 1827.

The comments on Sir Edward Codrington's application for a grant for Navarino appear to be right in principle (p. 117), although it is very hard on those who have to obey orders. In 1834, however, Codrington gained his point, and, though opposed by Government, a sum of money was voted without a division in the Commons, the House maintaining the principle that it was unjust to punish subordinates for the errors of the chief. The discussion was interesting and instructive.<sup>1</sup> Byam Martin's views on the necessity of having young admirals and generals are much to the point; the difficulty is how to get them at the beginning of a war after a long peace; for the best organisers in peace times are not always leaders of men. And

<sup>1</sup> Bouchier, *Life of Sir Edward Codrington*, vol. ii. pp. 500 *et seq*



there are many exceptions to any rule of age. St. Vincent and Hood were in no way incapacitated at 70; and Marshal Radetzky was 83 in 1848-49 when, by sheer generalship, he recovered Lombardy for the Austrians from the Sardinian revolutionists. But these were exceptional men, and on an emergency such can always be used. Retirement by age brings forward a certain number of young men, which must always be a consideration; for in the navy, as in every other profession, the future of a country depends on its youth.

The ceremony, August 1st, 1831, at the opening by King William IV. of the present London Bridge, built by Sir John Rennie (pp. 102-5), evidently owed much of its success to Byam Martin, as was indeed virtually acknowledged by the King in presenting him with a painting of the ceremony in the following year; but it appears an anomaly that the Lord Mayor should have delegated his authority on the Thames to an admiral.

Sir H. B. Neale's advice (pp. 105, 106) not to refuse a baronetcy on being dismissed from the comptrollership is excellent; but the baronetcy was not offered to him; and although it had previously been the general rule to confer one, it could hardly be expected that a ministry should give the honour to so sturdy a political opponent. A baronetcy was not often conferred on even distinguished admirals, who, as commanders-in-chief, had filled posts of heavy responsibility, where an error in judgment might be of very serious consequence to the country—which could not be said of any comptroller of the navy. I have always failed to see the justice of giving higher

honours and larger pensions to naval officers who have exchanged the hardships of active service afloat for civil employment, in which, at all events, they make certain of an 'all night in,' and cannot say, as was said by Lord Collingwood, 'My family are actually strangers to me.' It should never be made a naval officer's interest to take civil employment in preference to active service afloat, which is of more advantage to the public service.

The ministry that dismissed Byam Martin had, nevertheless, so high an opinion of his professional abilities, that in 1833 they offered him the responsible post of commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean in succession to Sir H. Hotham, who had recently died, at a very critical period, when Mehemet Ali, of Egypt, had rebelled against the Sultan, and would have dethroned him but for the intervention of some of the European Powers, more particularly Russia. At this time the French, Russian, and Egyptian squadrons each consisted of about ten line-of-battle ships and frigates, 'while the Malabar, of seventy-four guns, lately gone out from England, is, I believe, the only ship of the line in that quarter, though it is possible that the *St. Vincent* (120 guns) may have returned to Malta from Lisbon' (p. 115). Well might Martin exclaim, 'happy the prospects of an admiral under such circumstances!' How true also his remark—'The British squadron must never be placed in such a position as to risk its high character, or to act a second part in any conjunct operations;' and yet even up to 1885, on the China station, the French and Russian flag-ships were superior to the English—the *Audacious*, better known



there as the 'old junk.' More than one admiral in my day has felt that his situation would not be a happy one in the event of war breaking out. The correspondence with Captain Prescott, Governor of Newfoundland, shows that his post was not a bed of roses in 1838, any more than it was in 1860-64, when I was senior officer on the station, and a local magistrate. The letter (pp. 156-61) from Captain Fanshawe gives an interesting account, from an on-looker's point of view, of the affairs on the coast of Syria, that culminated in the capture of Acre and the downfall of Mehemet Ali's hope of making himself an independent sovereign. Byam Martin was a second time offered the command in the Mediterranean, in succession to Sir Robert Stopford. He however declined it, though not on political grounds, as the Tories were then in office (pp. 171, 172).

His remarks (pp. 177-80) on the proposal to promote officers to flag rank, instead of as at present by seniority, are valuable. Under any circumstances such a measure would occasion much jealousy and discontent in a service like our navy, scattered as it is over the face of the globe. Officers are often called on to execute important duties other than fighting, and may thus be marked for selection without the service at large being able to understand it. Should the principle of selection ever be adopted, there could be no better plan than that suggested by Byam Martin. No greater offence was probably ever given to the service than the appointment of Sir Home Popham as captain of the fleet to Lord Gambier, commander-in-chief of the fleet against Copenhagen in 1807.

It will be very gratifying to the navy to note the high estimation in which the late Admiral Sir W. Fanshawe Martin, Byam Martin's eldest son, was held by competent authority (pp. 76, 77, 82, 185, 186). No admiral of my period of service ever did so much for the discipline of the navy, and the seeds sown by him have brought forth fruit a hundred-fold.<sup>1</sup>

The correspondence with Sir James Graham (pp. 229-32) shows that, whatever his feelings were with regard to Byam Martin as a political foe, he thoroughly appreciated him as an honourable one; and in every respect outside politics showed his high sense of Byam Martin's merits and abilities. The correspondence with those over whom Martin had presided for sixteen years, and after he had left the comptroller's office (pp. 267-78), shows their warm appreciation of his ability and courtesy.

The 'Reminiscences and Notes' (pp. 235 *et seq.*) were written mostly from memory, except when he mentions having made notes at the time. The remarks on the 'Vicissitudes of a Sea Life' (pp. 281-90) are as applicable now as then. I have always considered the naval service as two-thirds luck, chance or Providence, and one-third industry; for during the first part of a man's service very little is owing to himself, though the industrious get most opportunities. I can recall an instance, not quite half a century ago, of an officer now dead who, without any

<sup>1</sup> I never served under Sir W. Martin, but an Admiral who had, writing to me after the second volume came out, observed, 'I see where Sir W. Martin got his admirable ideas on discipline and lucidity of expression in all his official correspondence.'



interest, political or private, without any naval ability or war service, but by sheer force of circumstance, was made a commander at twenty-four years of age, when he had served only a few months beyond the two years necessary to qualify a lieutenant for that rank. He sensibly never served another day, preferring to develop his real abilities as an artist.

The remarks on Lord Keppel's acquittal (pp. 290-98) throw some fresh light on that unhappy court-martial, which did so much mischief to the naval service by splitting it up into two hostile political camps. My own impression has always been that the French fleet's getting away at night unknown to ours was not creditable to our look-out. Of Sir Hugh Palliser Martin had a high opinion, based on information from his old ship-mates, and on the correspondence in the comptroller's office. But in 1779 Palliser was one of the most hated men in England. In London the mob gutted his house in Pall Mall, and burnt the contents in St. James's Square. Palliser was fortunately absent. Even in the country and in his own parish the hatred was scarcely less rancorous; and the '*London Evening Post*' of March 11th told how, on arriving at his country seat—the Vache, in the parish of Chalfont St. Giles—he

'sent a polite card to the minister of the parish, requesting his leave to have the bells rung on the occasion, which he as politely refused. . . . However, the parish, getting intelligence that he wanted to bribe popularity by offering the ringers a guinea each, which he had done by a servant

before his application to the minister, were determined to gratify his ambition, which they did by assembling before his house with warming pans, sheep bells, tin kettles, cow horns, and divers other instruments of ridicule, with which they gave him a concert of rough music, being such applause as they thought his detestable conduct deserved.' <sup>1</sup>

Palliser seems to have lived down the ill-feeling, and at his death 'left a charity for the education and clothing of poor children in the parish, which still bears his name.' The country is indebted to him for having discerned the merits of Captain Cook, to whose memory he erected a monument, still standing in the grounds of the Vache.

The remarks on the command of the Channel fleet (p. 296), 'which has always been given to an admiral with his flag at the main,' must commend themselves to every one. In Martin's opinion Palliser was an abler man than Keppel, but being only a vice-admiral, he was, 'according to the custom of the service, ineligible to command the Channel fleet.' At present, custom, supported by economy, sets in the opposite direction; but in either case, and especially in critical times, common sense ought to take precedence of any rule of seniority, and commands should be given to the most competent. No admiral could efficiently command a station if he was obliged to choose his instruments by seniority, without considering a captain's qualification or the suitability of his ship for any particular work.

I cannot agree with Martin when he asserts (pp. 298, 299) that the great mutiny was caused by

<sup>1</sup> P. W. Phipps, *Chalfont St. Giles, Past and Present*, p. 14.



injudicious talk at table. The mutiny was as justifiable on the part of the seamen as any strikes on land are, and far more so than many of these. No amount of injudicious talk would produce a mutiny if there were no grievances. There is, too, as much injudicious talk at admirals' and captains' as at wardroom tables. It is true, as Martin writes (p. 300), that Lord St. Vincent was more at home at the head of our fleets than at the Admiralty ; but his suppression of the mutiny of the shipwrights in 1801, which enabled the Baltic fleet to be prepared, would alone have stamped him as no ordinary man, independent of his taking in hand the cleansing of the Augean stables of the fearful corruption prevailing in the dockyards.

The curious story told of General Sir W. Pitt (pp. 305-7) may be founded on fact ; but an examination of the pay-books of the *Burford* and the other ships at *Porto Bello* in 1739 shows that it is widely inaccurate in the details. The story of *Skyrocket Jack* (pp. 302, 303) would seem to be one of those floating yarns which are in turn applied as the fancy of the narrator dictates ; but the detail of the 'cocked hat' does not harmonise with the date of the loss of the *Edgar*.

The account of the affair of *Basque Roads* (pp. 308-29) from the French point of view is an interesting supplement to our own reports and the evidence at the court-martial on Lord Gambier. Some portions of it are given by James. Unfortunately the original has not been found, and the translation here given is evidently an exceedingly bad one, made probably by a clerk whose knowledge of both languages was

rather limited.<sup>1</sup> But even as it stands it is sufficient to establish the absolute truth of Lord Cochrane's contention that, if he had been properly supported, nearly if not quite all the French fleet would have been destroyed, as I feel confident it would have been had St. Vincent or Cornwallis been in command instead of Gambier. The narrow escape Ferrol had of falling into our hands (p. 339) is one of the many instances in wars of the small division between success and failure. As a temporary base of operation its capture would have been highly desirable from a naval point of view.

The letters of Sir John Ross (pp. 343-64)—so strangely found and brought to England, for whalers rarely went down Prince Regent's Inlet—are very interesting and give an excellent compendium of his discoveries. Had the expedition not fortunately succeeded in escaping, this would have been the only record of the results of the Victory's voyage.

It is interesting to note the views of the seamen on impressment (pp. 367-68). They were not opposed to it in 1760; nor was it one of their grievances in the mutiny of 1797. Martin considers (p. 370) that James II., when Duke of York and Lord High Admiral, was a very able administrator, 'and the first to draw up regular instruction for both branches of the naval service.' Neither Lord Rosebery nor, to the best of my recollection, Lord Stanhope, in their Lives of Pitt, mentions the great interest he took in naval matters. Martin shows (pp. 380-82) that it was to his vigilance we owed the fleet which saved us from

<sup>1</sup> If any of Admiral Bedford's descendants possess these papers a correct translation would be interesting.



war in 1790-91, and enabled us to commence the revolutionary war with France with an efficient fleet. The Pitts, father and son, were exceptions to the general rule that our prime ministers know little, if anything, about the navy. Nor are our modern historians much better informed.

The appointment of 'a stripling from Harrow,' the Hon. R. Dundas (p. 386), to the post of deputy comptroller of the navy, a post which had 'always been held by an experienced naval officer,' and by Byam Martin himself, was as gross an abuse of political patronage as ever was perpetrated. In these days such a thing is fortunately impossible. Martin's hope 'that Sir James Graham might be First Lord of the Admiralty when the next war broke out' (p. 400) was realised in 1854; and his correspondence with Sir Charles Napier, the commander-in-chief in the Baltic, shows how wretchedly unprepared we were then for naval war. But this want of preparation at the outbreak of war was an established rule, to which, I believe, there was no exception. In 1854 gun practice had to be reduced because the supply of powder in the country was so low; Napier was also directed to enter Scandinavian seamen, and to purchase steamers in the Baltic to supplement the wretched craft that were called gun-boats. Fortunately our enemies were no better prepared, and the old prestige of the British navy carried us through.

It may be said of Sir Byam Martin that he died in harness, as only two months before his death he presided over the committee on Lord Dundonald's proposal for attacking Russian forts.

## ILLUSTRATIONS

CAPTURE OF L'IMMORTALITÉ, FRENCH FRIGATE, BY  
H.M. FRIGATE FISCARD, CAPTAIN T. BYAM  
MARTIN, OFF BREST, 20TH OCTOBER, 1798 . *Frontispiece*

H.M.S. IMPÉTUEUX, CAPTAIN T. BYAM MARTIN,  
RESCUING THE CREW OF THE VENERABLE OF  
74 GUNS, CAPTAIN J. HUNTER, LOST IN TORBAY,  
24TH NOVEMBER, 1805 . . . . . *To face p. 235*





JOURNALS AND LETTERS  
OF ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET  
SIR T. BYAM MARTIN

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THERE are no letters of Byam Martin after the close of the last volume until July 1814, when he was appointed Chief British Commissioner to settle the distribution of the ships of war and naval stores at Antwerp in co-operation with the French and Dutch Commissioners, in accordance with the 15th Article of the Treaty of Peace after Napoleon's downfall in 1814.

He was employed as second in command at Plymouth during the interval, and most probably was fully occupied in carrying out the numerous details of the station.

He mentions in a journal, written some years afterwards, he was ordered to attend at Portsmouth at the request of the Emperor of Russia, and in the Spithead naval manœuvres he led a division of the fleet, when the allied Sovereigns reviewed the fleet during their visit to England in 1814. On which occasion the Emperor of Russia personally thanked





## REFERENCE TO THE PROCESSION.

- A.—The Royal Barge, preceded by the Prince Regent's Household (P), at the distance of three boats' length ; and three boats (*p, p, p*) to clear the way, at the same distance, one ahead, and the other two on the bows of the Prince Regent's Household.
- B, C.—The Barges of the Royal strangers, to keep a little abaft the beam of the Royal Barge, on each side, at the distance of two boats' length.
- D.—The Admiralty Barge, at the same distance, right astern of the Royal Barge.
- E.—The Navy Board, at the like distance, astern of the Admiralty Barge.
- F.—The Victualling Board, at the like distance astern of the Navy Board Barge.
- G.—The Barge of his Royal Highness the Admiral of the Fleet,<sup>1</sup> on the starboard quarter of the Royal strangers.
- H.—The Barge of Admiral Sir Richard Bickerton, Commander-in-Chief at the Port, on the larboard quarter of the Royal strangers.
- I.—The Barge of the next senior Admiral on the starboard quarter of his Royal Highness.
- K.—The Barge of the next senior Admiral on the larboard quarter of Admiral Sir Richard Bickerton.
- L, M.—The Barges of the next senior Admirals, starboard and larboard, as they take their places at a court-martial.
- N.—The Barge of the senior Captain on the starboard quarter of the Admiralty Barge.
- O.—The Barge of the next senior Captain on the larboard quarter of the Admiralty Barge.

\* The Barges of other Captains in succession (starboard and larboard) as they take their places at a court-martial.<sup>2</sup> The distance between the two lines of Captains' boats to be six boats' length.

*Captain Codd* in his own boat (*k*) with three Lieutenants in their respective boats (*i, i, i*) are to row at six boats' length on the starboard side of the procession, for the purpose of keeping off all strange boats.

*Captain Loch* in his own boat (*k*) with three Lieutenants in their respective boats (*l, l, l*) will row in like manner, and for the same purpose, on the larboard side of the procession.

The Royal Barges, as well as those of the Public Boards and Flag Officers, will wear their proper flags on staffs of 15 feet in length ; the Barges of Captains are to carry their Pendants on Staffs of 12 feet long.

WILLIAM,  
Admiral of the Fleet,  
By command of the Admiral of the Fleet,  
JOHN BARTON.

Rear-Admiral Martin, &c. &c. &c.

<sup>1</sup> Duke of Clarence.

<sup>2</sup> The officer next senior to the President sits on his right, the second senior on his left, and so on.

him for the service he rendered to Russia in 1812, which he asserted saved Riga from falling into the hands of the French ; and to quote from a fragment of a note in B. Martin's writing :—

‘I had almost forgot to tell you of the blundering confusion with which I was made to accept a most valuable snuff-box from the Emperor of Russia. I was taken by surprise with so immediate a mark of his notice.’

At this review H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence hoisted the Union at the main as Admiral of the Fleet, which was flying from May 17 to June 28. Byam Martin remarks that the Duke had not forgotten one part of his naval education, he ‘could swear like a trooper’—quite eclipsing the more modern naval school in that respect ; the Prince Regent observing on hearing the men aloft being slanged by him : ‘What an excellent officer William is!’—on which point the Admirals present did not concur.

The review is described by B. Martin as ‘a truly grand spectacle, at which the whole world might be supposed to have been assembled, for on returning on shore no part of the soil could be seen ;’ all along the sea-shore ‘it was a mass of human heads, rending the very skies with their cheers. Afloat a crowd of boats and vessels was equally striking, and altogether presented such a scene as was never witnessed before, or ever will be again probably.’

*LORD MELVILLE TO B. MARTIN.*

Admiralty, 21st August, 1812.

Sir,—The situation of second in command at Plymouth having become vacant by the promotion of Sir Edward Buller, it is reserved for you, but his flag will continue there till your return.



I regret to learn that the state of your health renders it advisable for the present that you should abstain from active service. You have been employed so usefully in the Baltic, and so much to the satisfaction of his Majesty's Government, that I lament the existence of any obstacle to your continuing on active duty, more especially any such reason as indisposition.

I have the honour to be, Sir,  
Your most obedient and humble servant,  
MELVILLE.

Rear-Admiral Martin.

*B. MARTIN IN REPLY.*

My Lord,—I am only this moment honoured with your lordship's letter of the 21st ulto., and avail myself of an immediate opportunity to make my grateful acknowledgments for your obliging compliance with my wish to succeed Sir Edwd. Buller at Plymouth; a situation I should not have sought if I had health to pursue a more active and desirable course of service.

I cannot omit noticing your lordship's gratifying allusion to my services in the Baltic, for it has given me inexpressible pleasure to find that amidst much difficulty and perplexity I should have followed a line of conduct so satisfactory to his Majesty's Government, and what is still more, to call forth such valuable and encouraging expressions of approbation from your lordship.

I have the honour to be with great respect, my Lord, &c.,

T. B. M.

*Endorsed.*—Lord Melville.

## 6 JOURNALS AND LETTERS OF

### LORD MELVILLE TO B. MARTIN.

Admiralty, 25 August, 1813.

Dear Sir,—It being deemed of importance that Lord Wellington should receive the earliest possible intimation of the renewal of hostilities in Germany, or the prolongation of the armistice, or such other results as may arise from the conference between the Austrian and French ministers at Prague, it is intended to send a messenger to Plymouth there to await your receiving by telegraph a pre-arranged message, according as the case may require, which you will immediately send off with its explanation by the messenger in a dispatch to Lord Wellington. It will be necessary for this purpose that you hold the Mackerel or other proper vessel in constant readiness for the service in question, and an authority from the Board will be transmitted to you in order to place her at your disposal. Mr. Croker will settle with Lord Bathurst's office and will communicate to you the explanations of the intended message, and it will be desirable that the circumstances shall not be made known excepting to Lord Keith.<sup>1</sup>

I have the honour to be, dear Sir,

Your most obedient and faithful servant,  
MELVILLE.

Rear-Admiral Martin.

### SECRETARY OF ADMIRALTY TO B. MARTIN.

[*Private.*]

Admiralty, August 25, 1813.

Sir,—It is considered by H. R. H.'s <sup>2</sup> Government of the greatest importance that my Lord Wellington should be as early as possible informed of the result

<sup>1</sup> Then Commander-in-Chief Channel Squadron

<sup>2</sup> Prince Regent.



of the negotiations now pending in the north of Europe, and for this purpose a messenger is sent to Plymouth, whom on the receipt of a telegraphic message (which I shall presently explain to you) you will lose not a moment in dispatching with a letter from yourself to Lord Wellington in the fast sailing vessel which by the public letter of this day you are directed to hold in readiness.

The telegraphic message will be one of the four following :

1. *War*, by which will be understood 'a renewal of the war on the part of Russia, Prussia and Sweden. *Austria neutral*.'

2. *Austrian war*, which will mean the renewal of the war including the co-operation of Austria.

3. *Armistice*, will mean that the armistice is renewed, and if it is for a definite period the message will go on to say 'week,' 'fortnight,' or 'month' as the case may be.

4. *Preliminaries*. This will mean that Austria has signed *preliminaries*; if the word *continental* be added it means that the Allies are included in the preliminaries; without this word, it is to be understood that the Allies are left negotiating.

The manner in which I shall make these messages will be this :

I shall immediately after the Plymouth signal make for message No. 1 the signal 123

2    „    „    234X

3    „    „    345

4    „    „    456

after which I shall proceed to spell the word in the usual way. By these means if one signal gets down you will have the meaning of the message; but if that first signal should fail, then the ordinary course of spelling the word will convey to you the necessary information.

You will as soon as you can decipher the signals write a letter to Lord Wellington to acquaint him with it, and you will direct the commander of the vessel sent to hasten to land the messenger with your letter at the point nearest Lord Wellington's headquarters.

It is I believe unnecessary to add anything more as Lord Melville's letter has conveyed to you his lordship's own wishes on the subject.

I have the honour to be, Sir,  
Your most obedient and very humble servant,  
J. W. CROKER.  
Rear-Admiral Martin.

*MR. CUMMING<sup>1</sup> TO B. MARTIN.*

London, No. 23 Dover Street, the 28 March, 1814.

My dear Sir,—Having been out of town for a few days, I found, on my return on Saturday evening, your very acceptable letter of the 16th waiting for me, though it had only reached London by the mail of the 21st, otherwise I should have received it before I went into the country, and have had an opportunity of expressing sooner how happy I am to perceive by it that I am likely to have the pleasure of seeing you in London very shortly. This will afford me the greater gratification, as I had almost despaired of getting a sight of you previous to my return from our intended journey to the Continent, for which we are already in the midst of our preparations, and expect to start in about five weeks from this time. Had we gone last July, as then intended, we should certainly have been back again towards the end of the present summer; and I had indeed made all my arrangements accordingly.

<sup>1</sup> B. Martin's correspondent at Riga in 1812: see vol. ii. pp. 262 *et al.*



But now that the whole Continent appears open to us, it is probable that we may find inducement on our return for protracting a little our stay in Germany, and under this idea I am now making preparations for being absent two years.

I observed by the public papers last September that you had taken a sudden flight to Spain,<sup>1</sup> and having afterwards learnt through the same channel of your return, I should certainly have written frequently to you since then, had not the news of the glorious occurrences on the Continent followed each other so rapidly in succession that any trifling details that I could have communicated would have been rendered uninteresting in the midst of such glorious intelligence as we were for a considerable time in the habit of receiving almost daily from the Continent.

It is to be hoped that the grand struggle is now drawing towards a close, and such a one as will insure peace to Europe for a century to come. The Austrians have hitherto been faithful to the cause, and I hope will continue so until the business is ended, though I believe their Emperor has expressed a wish that Blucher's army might be the first to approach or enter Paris. Prince Schwartzberg's army, being to the south of Paris, lays entirely in a vine country, which affords them almost no supplies whatever, so that the privations they suffer is beyond belief, and at one time during the severe weather they were so near starving that they had, I believe, requested the sanction of this country to patch up a peace with Bonaparte, though they promised to continue the contest until absolutely compelled to give it up for want of supplies. Blucher's army being more to the north, and near to those districts which produce corn, means have

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, vol. ii. pp. 354 *et seq.*

been found to supply it tolerably well upon the whole, though at times it has likewise suffered great privations. And had it not been for the absolute want of provisions, the two armies would probably have had possession of Paris long ago. The Emperor of Russia has shown more sense and magnanimity than I could have given him credit for, in allowing himself and his generals to appear only in the background, with a view of cajoling and thereby securing the fidelity of the Austrians to the general cause, for the forces of the latter with the two great armies do not, I imagine, exceed one-third of the former.

Poor General Essen<sup>1</sup> died suddenly last summer at one of the mineral baths in Courland, and, what is rather singular, on the anniversary of the very day on which a commencement had been made with burning the houses on the islands in Riga river the preceding year, as a prelude to the destruction of the suburbs. This combination of circumstances induces some to believe that he had made away with himself. The complaints made against him on that score having been very loud and numerous, and he being of a very irritable and ambitious disposition, it is supposed that he could not brook the idea of being slighted. Our friend General Emme<sup>2</sup> obtained leave last year (his station at Riga being kept in reserve for him) to join the armies, and he now commands a small division of the troops besieging Hamburg. You will no doubt know that General Fanshawe<sup>3</sup> is also now in actual service again, having had instructions sent him in September last to proceed to Warsaw, and there put himself under General Benningsen's orders : from

<sup>1</sup> Governor of Riga, 1812 : see vol. ii. p. 205 and *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Second in command at Riga, 1812 : see vol. ii. 277.

<sup>3</sup> In Russian employ : a connection of B. Martin.



this I suppose that he will be employed to organise some of the new levies at Warsaw, and then to proceed with them towards the Elbe. I have seen a gentleman who accidentally met General Fanshawe, accompanied by his youngest son (I think in October last), on the road between Riga and Warsaw, when the General was in good health and in excellent spirits. He had requested this gentleman to try if anything could be done in this country towards obtaining the release of his son, now at Verdun. I had hoped that his exchange would have been effected through another channel long ere this; for I have it from pretty good authority that the Emperor had, through the application of Lord Cathcart, granted permission to General Fanshawe, above six months ago, to offer any two French officers of equal rank, now prisoners in Russia, in exchange for his son. But probably this has had no eventual effect.

I beg to offer you my best wishes on the late addition to your family. I am happy to hear that Mrs. Martin is going on so well, and I trust she will continue in uninterrupted improvement until her strength is thoroughly re-established again. But as your coming to town appears to be contingent on this circumstance, I shall be the more anxious to receive (and which I request your gratifying me with) a line from you, when your departure is once actually fixed upon. In the meanwhile I beg you will believe me with sincere regard,

My dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

P. CUMMING.

Thomas Byam Martin, Esq., Rear-Admiral of  
the White, Plymouth Dock.

*LORD CASTLEREAGH TO SIR T. B. MARTIN.*

Foreign Office, July 15, 1814.

Sir,—I enclose to you herewith a commission appointing you, Sir George Wood, and Mr. Tucker, Commissioners to carry into execution the 15th Article of the late Definite Treaty of Peace;<sup>1</sup> and also a copy of the queries which you suggested respecting the execution of the service, with such answers as appear proper upon the same.

You will proceed with your colleagues in the first instance to the Hague, in order to confer with Lord Clancarty, his Majesty's Ambassador there, on the subject of your mission, and to concert all necessary measures for your proceedings.

General Lord Lyndoch has received orders to give you every assistance which his command may enable him to afford.

I have the honour to be, Sir,  
Your most obedient, humble servant,  
CASTLEREAGH.

To Rear-Admiral Martin, &c. &c. &c.

*Endorsed.*—Instructions from Lord Castlereagh.

*ENGLISH COMMISSION TO FRENCH COMMISSION.*

The undersigned Commissioners, appointed by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent in behalf of his Britannic Majesty to assist in the execution of the 15th Article of the definitive Treaty of Peace, signed at Paris the 30th of May, 1814, have the

<sup>1</sup> Signed at Paris, May 30th, 1814, between the allied Powers and Louis XVIII. of France; by it the shipping, ordnance stores, &c., in the captured towns were to be divided between France and the country to which the towns were allotted, two-thirds to France and one-third to the country.



honour to announce to the Commissioners on the part of his Most Christian Majesty that they are arrived at Antwerp, and request to know when they may have the honour of meeting the French Commissioners to arrange such a plan of proceeding as may be best calculated to accomplish the duty assigned to them.

The British Commissioners actuated by a feeling equally friendly to all the parties gladly avail themselves of the earliest opportunity to express to the Commissioners of his Most Christian Majesty their respectful consideration.<sup>1</sup>

T. B. MARTIN, Rear-Admiral.

G. WOOD, Colonel of Artillery.

JOS. TUCKER, Surveyor of the Navy.

Antwerp, July 22, 1814.

To the Commissioners of his Most Christian Majesty.

*FRENCH TO ENGLISH COMMISSIONERS.*

*(Translation.)*

The undersigned President of the Commission appointed by his Majesty the King of France, for carrying into execution the 15th Article of the Treaty of Peace, signed at Paris on the 30th of May, has, in the name of the said Commission the honour to acknowledge, to the gentlemen Commissioners of his Britannic Majesty, the receipt of their note of this day by which they announce their arrival at Antwerp.

The French Commissioners, happy to see the moment at length arrive when the divisions are about to take place, will be very eager to be known

<sup>1</sup> A note to this effect was sent to Count Künigl, Governor of Antwerp, and the Dutch Commissioners.

to the English Commissioners; and they are already convinced that the sentiments which animate them are those of the strictest equity for all parties, and they consider themselves fortunate in having them as coadjutors in a work, which it is very desirable to put an end to speedily.

If it should be convenient to the English Commissioners to come at 11 o'clock to-morrow to the Maritime Prefecture, we should be able to meet them there. The English Commissioners are desired to say if that is agreeable to them.

The undersigned takes this occasion to offer to the gentlemen of the English Commission the assurance of his high consideration, &c. &c.<sup>1</sup>

GOURDON.<sup>2</sup>

Antwerp, 23rd July, 1814.

*B. MARTIN TO VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.*

Antwerp, August 4, 1814.

My Lord,—We have the honour to inform your lordship of our arrival at Antwerp the 21st ult., and that we immediately communicated with Count Künigl, the Austrian Commissioner, and with the Commissioners of the other Powers upon the subject of our mission.<sup>3</sup>

Each party having advanced claims totally unconnected with the object of our instructions, it was necessary to reject them, and to decline entertaining any question but such as should be evidently founded on the 15th Article of the Treaty of Peace, and having at length obtained a general concurrence in

<sup>1</sup> Similar answer received from the Dutch Commissioners and Count Künigl, the Austrian Governor of Antwerp.

<sup>2</sup> Rear-Admiral and President.

<sup>3</sup> French and Dutch Commissioners.



this principle, and collected the legitimate claims of the parties, we delivered the accompanying propositions as those which we considered best calculated to secure a prompt, equitable, and full compliance with the provisions of the Treaty.

Your lordship will observe that a strict and literal adherence to the words of that part of the Treaty which says, 'The ships and vessels on the stocks which shall not be launched within six weeks after the signature of the present Treaty shall be considered as materials, and after being broken up, shall be as such divided,' would render a delay of some months necessary before we could proceed to a division of the property; it was therefore agreed to settle the division of the ships as they stand, adding to the time allowed for the removal of the materials a limited, and we trust your lordship will think a short, period for taking to pieces thirteen sail of the line and three frigates.

We have been constantly mindful of the wish that might probably exist to procure the removal of the French from Antwerp as soon as possible, and having brought them to six months, it is in vain that we have endeavoured to draw the period for the demolition of the ships, and removal of the materials, into more narrow limits; the French Commissioners making it a matter of concession on their part to admit any defined period for taking the ships to pieces.

Your lordship may be assured that the French are extremely impatient to withdraw from the place, and their only object in claiming six months is that, in advertising the sale of their proportion of the ships on the stocks, there may be a chance of obtaining a reasonable price by securing to the purchaser a proper time for taking the ships to pieces.

An examination into the capacity of this port

and its local advantages as a naval establishment has shown them to an extent of which we had no conception ; and although it is evident your lordship is aware of its importance, yet being on the spot, we venture to allude to it lest on any future occasion its effectual dismemberment as a place of naval equipment should come under consideration, and our personal observations justify us in saying that the peace which reduces Antwerp simply and completely to a commercial port is an event as interesting to Great Britain as any its history can produce.

The artificers employed in the yard amounted to upwards of four thousand besides labourers ; and had not two-thirds of them been called to the army, and lost in the late battles, it was intended that eight sail of the line should be launched this year, and ten the next ; and the establishment, still progressing to the maturity chalked out by the genius of Bonaparte, would in very little time have given an annual augmentation to the fleet to an extent which, considered only as auxiliary to their efforts at the other ports, would have outstepped the best means and exertions of England to produce a corresponding augmentation of force.

We beg to send your lordship a map of Antwerp wherein is shown the basins for the reception of the ships of war in the winter, and while they remain the port retains its capacity to become as great as ever within a very short period.

We trust by an unremitting diligence in the discharge of our duty that the object of our mission will be brought to a close in three weeks, and as our continuance here will be expensive and unnecessary after settling the division of the property according to the articles of agreement, we shall then (with your lordship's approbation) return to England and lay



before you the statement required by the 15th Article of the Treaty.

I am, &c.

T. B. M.

To the Right Honourable Viscount Castlereagh,  
&c. &c.

*B. MARTIN TO MONSIEUR BLANKEN,  
DUTCH COMMISSIONER.*

Antwerp, August 9, 1814.

Sir,—I have received your letter of yesterday's date, and have the honour to inform you, in the name of the English Commission, that we shall always be glad to meet you at any hour between five o'clock in the morning and ten at night, and to confer with you on any points relating to our business at Antwerp.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

T. B. MARTIN.

À Monsieur Blanken, &c. &c. &c.

P.S.—It is requested that the Dutch officer of the artillery will go to Sir George Wood's lodging to-morrow at seven o'clock to make arrangements for dividing the artillery.

*T. B. MARTIN TO J. W. CROKER.*

Antwerp, August 11, 1814.

Sir,—It may be right to inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that the division of the fleet at Antwerp has been made conformably to the 15th Article of the Treaty of Peace, and that the French Admiral, being now at liberty to withdraw

his force, will order some of the ships to sail in a few days.

I shall have the honour of delivering for their lordships' information a statement of the division that has been made of the fleet, and other particulars when I return to England.

I am, Sir, &c. &c.

T. B. MARTIN.

J. W. Croker, Esq., Admiralty, London.

*B. MARTIN TO VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.*

Antwerp, August 12, 1814.

My Lord,—I have the satisfaction to inform your lordship that, in consequence of the division which has been made of the fleet at Antwerp, the French Admiral will detach part of his squadron to Brest in a few days, and he has advertised the sale of the ships on the stocks, that he may withdraw the whole of the ships and the naval establishment as soon as possible.

I have the honour to be, &c.

T. B. M.

To the Right Honourable the Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c. &c.

*B. MARTIN TO VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.*

Antwerp, August 22, 1814.

My Lord,—I had the honour to write to your lordship on the 4th inst., and of transmitting a copy of the Articles of Agreement whereby the division of the ships and stores at Antwerp should be made.

I have now to acquaint your lordship that the whole settlement of the division will be completed



and a statement thereof drawn up in the course of the present week, and as nothing then will remain to be done on the part of the English Commission, I had intended to return forthwith to England to lay our proceedings before your lordship, but hearing of your lordship's arrival at Brussels, I think it my duty to beg the signification of your lordship's directions for our guidance.

I have the satisfaction to state to your lordship that six French line-of-battle ships are now under sail and proceeding down the Scheldt to Kappelle,<sup>1</sup> preparatory to their sailing for Brest, and everything indicates the early departure of the French from this port.

I trust your lordship will not think it presuming in me to send you a statement of what appears necessary to be done, in the event of its being determined to destroy the naval works at Antwerp; a liberty which I would not take if I were not convinced that such a measure deeply regards the interest of England.

I had intended to pay my duty to your lordship in person, but Admiral Gourdon comes up from Flushing this day to meet me respecting the final division of the property at that place.

T. B. MARTIN.

To Right Honourable Lord Castlereagh.

<sup>1</sup> An anchorage in the river below Antwerp.

*B. MARTIN TO ADMIRAL GOURDON, CHIEF  
FRENCH COMMISSIONER.*

Antwerp, August 23rd, 1814.

Sir,—I am sorry to state to you that the want of punctual attendance on the part of the French officers in the arsenal and at the different stores, occasions a very great delay in the settlement of the division of stores, and it appears to me to be done purposely to impede our business.

I shall be much obliged to you if you will have the goodness to direct the officers to attend, because if there continues to be any impediment to the adjustment of the division I shall immediately take my departure from Antwerp.

I have, Sir, &c. &c. &c.

T. B. MARTIN.

Admiral Gourdon.

*B. MARTIN TO VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.*

Antwerp, August 24, 1814.

My Lord,—When I had the honour to attend your lordship yesterday I mentioned that the several ships in charge of the Dutch must necessarily be taken into the basin before the winter, and but for something that occurred to turn the conversation, I intended to suggest to your lordship the advantage of allowing those ships and the stores to be removed forthwith to Flushing.

If the ships are brought into the basin at Antwerp it will be impossible for them to leave it again before the end of March, and if in the interim it should be determined to destroy the basin and storehouses, the ships and stores, if detained here, would unavoidably impede a work which circumstances might



render it desirable to accomplish as promptly as possible.

The Dutch, who have charge of the ships and are responsible for a large quantity of very valuable stores, feel that their going to Flushing would afford a security which they cannot have at Antwerp, but the property in question, having to be given to the Power in whom the sovereignty of the country may be ultimately vested, we, of course, have not been at liberty to sanction their departure, although so obviously desirable ; but I would not lose the opportunity of submitting the matter to your lordship's consideration.

I have the honour, &c. &c. &c.

T. B. MARTIN.

To the Right Honourable Lord Castlereagh.

*B. MARTIN TO THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.*

Antwerp, August 25, 1814.

Sir,—I have the honour to transmit for your Royal Highness's information the copy of an agreement entered into by the several Commissioners appointed to settle the division of the ships and naval stores at Antwerp.

Your Royal Highness will observe that the 19th article of this agreement leaves it with General Count Künigl or the Commandant at Antwerp to see that the French comply with the terms of the agreement, which are founded on the 15th Article of the Treaty of Peace, and which it is my duty to communicate to your Royal Highness, as the Commander-in-Chief of the army.

I beg to inform your Royal Highness that having nearly closed the laborious duty in which I have been engaged at Antwerp I shall proceed to Brussels on

Saturday or Sunday next, and wait on your Royal Highness for any commands you may be pleased to charge me with to England.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c. &c. &c.

T. B. MARTIN.

To his Royal Highness General the hereditary Prince of Orange, K.B., &c. &c. &c.

*B. MARTIN TO COUNT KÜNIGL.*

Antwerp, August 27, 1814.

Sir,—The business which has engaged our attention at Antwerp being closed, I beg leave, in behalf of the British Commissioners, to express to your Excellency the sense we have of your ready, obliging and cordial co-operation in the discharge of so difficult and unpleasant a duty; as we are convinced that nothing has tended so much to an equitable division of the property as the firm, and at the same time the conciliating, way in which the business has been conducted under your Excellency's presidency.

With many thanks for your personal attention, and with sentiments of the highest respect and esteem,

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c. &c. &c.

T. B. MARTIN.

To his Excellency Count Künlgl.

*FROM COUNT KÜNIGL, GOVERNOR OF  
ANTWERP, TO BYAM MARTIN.*

[*Not dated. Apparently reply to preceding letter.*]

My dear Admiral,—There is not the least difficulty here, everything is arranged amicably between the French and Dutch, and even were any difficulty



to arise, be sure that I would settle all, so make yourself quite easy on that point. There is a difference in the accounts you have made out which proves very advantageous to the Dutch ; but this, according to my idea, is because you have forgotten to put to the French account all the boats and the transports ; and the compensation of buoys and objects of pilotage have been given entirely to the Dutch, thus it has been omitted in the French account, but all the Dutch have been set down.

I send you here the <sup>1</sup> [blank] that you have asked me for upon the duties paid at Antwerp. The duties of importation and exportation actually existing you will find in the fourth article, followed by the rules of the custom house. The duties that are now paid are not the same as were paid in the year 1792—they are raised on some things, and less on others. At the port of Antwerp there are no particular duties observed either for ships going out or coming in. Thus are all the questions answered that you have put to me concerning custom house duties.

Be persuaded that I shall be delighted if either chance or military destiny should throw us together, and I shall be much more pleased if you should come into this country where I am at home, that I may answer myself to the cordial friendship that you have shown me, in which I join heart and soul.

I am, &c. &c.

Count KÜNIGL,  
General at Antwerp.

<sup>1</sup> Evidently some return asked for, but omitted in MS.

*B. MARTIN TO TRANSPORT BOARD.*

Antwerp, August 27, 1814.

Gentlemen,—It is my duty to state to you that Captain Hill, of the transport service at Antwerp, has afforded the most useful assistance in the accomplishment of the duty with which I have been charged at this place, and the conduct of this respectable officer has in all instances been most exemplary and highly creditable to our national character.

I beg to add that Lieut. Champion has been indefatigable in the assistances he has afforded, and in the superintendence of the working party from the transports.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

T. B. MARTIN.

To the Commissioners of the Transport Board.

*B. MARTIN TO R. H. CREW, ESQ.*

Antwerp, August [not given], 1814.

Sir,—I am anxious to make my acknowledgments to the Right Honble. and Honourable Board of Ordnance for having given to the Commissioners employed at Antwerp the useful services of Major Percy Drummond, whose manners, good sense, and thorough knowledge of the French language has contributed essentially to the expeditious and creditable performance of the difficult and laborious business in which we have been engaged; and I trust it may not be thought presuming in me to beg the Right Honourable and Honourable Board to

receive my recommendation of this valuable officer, and to bestow on him their favour and protection.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

T. B. MARTIN.

R. H. Crew, Esq., Ordnance Office, Pall Mall,  
London.

*LORD CLANCARTY, AMBASSADOR AT HAGUE,  
TO BYAM MARTIN.*

[*Private.*]

Brussels, August 28, 1814.

Dear Sir,—Lord Castlereagh had left us prior to the arrival of your letter addressed to him. I however forwarded it to him yesterday by Messrs. Morris and Montague, two of the gentlemen attached to his mission, who were passing through here to join him.

I should think it better to wait till we receive his opinion before the Dutch share of the shipping shall be removed to Flushing.

Yours very faithfully,

CLANCARTY.

R.-Admiral Martin, Antwerp.

*LORD CLANCARTY TO BYAM MARTIN.*

Brussels, August 31, 1814.

Dear Sir,—The missing letter was last night delivered to me by M. de Falck, having found its way into that copy of the report which was presented to the Prince of Orange, and I have now the honour of returning it.

I have written to Count Künigl respecting the yacht and barge, and have availed myself of that occasion to express to him the sentiments of respect



and esteem which his conduct at Antwerp has so well merited, and with which I am very sincerely impressed.

Some packets which have arrived here to your address since your departure will go by the next post in my bag to the Foreign Office, from whence they will be forwarded.

I remain with great regard, dear Sir,

Your very obedient,

CLANCARTY.

R.-Admiral Martin, Plymouth.

*FROM ADMIRAL GOURDON, CHIEF FRENCH  
COMMISSIONER, TO B. MARTIN.<sup>1</sup>*

*(Translation.)*

Antwerp, 11 September, 1814.

My dear Admiral,—I have received the letter which you did me the kindness to write when you returned the one you had taken charge of for the Chevalier de Viella.

I acknowledge certainly most willingly that you have shown in the business with which you were entrusted here all the activity and justice which characterise you and which the thing required, and you will at the same time agree I made no complaint; but as you are yourself a brave and loyal military man, loving your country, you can well judge how painful my situation must often have been, and what must have been distressing to me; it never hindered me, however, from seeing that the strictest intentions guided your conduct. I often regretted in the midst of my irksome occupations that I had it not in my power more to cultivate

<sup>1</sup> This and following letter are evidently in reply to the British Commissioner, announcing departure.

your friendship. Believe, my dear Admiral, that I entertain for you the most entire sentiments of esteem, and I only wish to be fortunate enough to give you proof of it. Preserve for me those you have evinced ; I attach to them a high value.

I have sold a part of the vessels, but very ill. I had demolished some to carry them away. I think as you do that all our valuations were very moderate, but they did not the less serve to make the division as equitable as possible.

Madame de Gourdon, sensible of your obliging remembrance, charges me to thank you for it, and to say to you *mille choses aimables*.

Adieu, my dear Admiral ! may we meet under happier circumstances ! and I shall seize with eagerness the occasion to renew to you the assurance of the esteem and friendship with which I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

C. A. GOURDON.

FROM THE SECRETARY OF THE DUTCH  
COMMISSION.

[Probably about September 12.]

The Commissioners have received the letter which you have done them the honour to write to them dated yesterday, by which they learn with regret your speedy departure.

Although the Commission think with you that the principal object of your mission is fulfilled, they would have been notwithstanding most desirous that you should have remained at Antwerp until the total execution of their labours, in which you, together with the other English Commissioners, have co-operated so powerfully by your exertions and talents. But after the great obligations which they

owe to you already for the cares, and solitudes, and indefatigable zeal for the interests of their Sovereign, of which you have never ceased to give the most convincing proofs, they cannot press this point, and less so as they would willingly believe that they shall not experience in the execution any more difficulties which your just and conciliating character so efficaciously and advantageously overcame and smoothed for their government in the course of their operations.

The Commission therefore prays you, Admiral, in their own name as well as of their Sovereign, to receive the assurances of their gratitude for the obligations which they owe to you, and of which they will ever retain the pleasing recollection.

(Signed) H. SICAME.

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Points to be considered with a view to the destruction of Antwerp as a naval port :<sup>1</sup>

The two basins are the leading and essential features of Antwerp as a naval port ; the largest is capable of holding thirty-four sail of the line, the small one fourteen. While they remain the port is always capable of being brought into a great and most formidable naval establishment in a very short period, and if the basins are destroyed the engineer must do it with much care, so as to render the demolition effectual.

The merchants of Antwerp, looking forward to the basins being given up to them, will be exceedingly disappointed if they are destroyed, but prudence and safety render it at least necessary that the large one should be demolished.

<sup>1</sup> By the Treaty it was to be reduced to a commercial port.



If the small basin is reserved to them as a matter of grace and favour, it should be under an express condition that it is not to be enlarged or any other made.

With the small basin remaining, and the canal in the town, there would be room for at least fifty large merchant vessels, besides which they might have recourse, if necessary, to the anchorage used in the winter in former days, when Antwerp was famous for its trade and opulence—I mean the anchorage in the Rupel River, seven miles above Antwerp.

The building slips are for a time destroyed by the 10th article of our agreement—that is, the blocks and ground-ways are to be torn away ; but the ground itself should be rendered uneven so as to make the restoration of the slips difficult.

There is a work (battery) thrown up to the southward of the upper slips intended solely for the protection of the ships on the stocks ; it is called the entrenched camp. This ought to be completely levelled, as it forms no part of the great and original line of fortification.

There are two smiths' shops, both large and well calculated for the purpose ; they should be taken down, and everything removed that might tend to make the reconstruction of the shops easy.

Store-houses should be taken down.

The rope-house is a fine building, and a very material one. It should be taken down in spite of any remonstrance which may be made under pretence of using it as a barrack only ; while the building stands it is always very easily convertible to its usual purpose. The materials, if pulled to pieces, should be destroyed.

The cranes on the jetties should be destroyed.

The walls which enclose the dockyard and basins should be levelled.

It is not for me to offer any opinion as to the fortifications of Antwerp, except to observe that their continuance is at once a protection to any naval works that may be hereafter undertaken.

It may be worthy of remark that Ter-Neusen<sup>1</sup> is far preferable to Antwerp for a naval establishment, because of its approximation to the mouth of the river, and of the depth of the water, admitting ships of the greatest magnitude to lay there with everything [on board], which is not the case at Antwerp.

It is well known that Bonaparte would have made the naval arsenal at Ter-Neusen if there had been any fortification to protect it, and he was so aware of its advantages that, in addition to Antwerp, he had ordered a basin to be made there at an enormous expense, which was to be capable of holding sixty sail of the line, when stored with everything necessary for sea.

I mention this because, if it were possible, the whole of the Scheldt should be confined solely to commerce and no sort of naval establishment allowed, for if a great arsenal were established at Ter-Neusen it would be more formidable to England than Antwerp.

T. B. MARTIN.

Antwerp, August 15, 1814.

*BYAM MARTIN TO SIR HENRY.*

[*Extract.*]

Oct. 10, 1814.

My dear Henry,—The French Minister for Foreign Affairs has lately sent a long note to the Duke of Wellington upon the subject of my refusal

<sup>1</sup> On the south bank of West Scheldt, about 30 miles below Antwerp.

to receive the claim of the French Commissioners on the score of debts. My answer is that I had certainly distinctly declined entertaining any question so totally irrelative to the matter pointed out to us; and Lord Melville, who left us this morning, told me my correspondence had been sent to him, as a Cabinet question, and that he conceived my answer in every respect satisfactory and conclusive, which I assure you has set my mind much at ease; for although I know I am right, I was not quite satisfied as to the light in which the French Minister might show the proceeding if he was allowed to correspond on the subject, and myself in ignorance of his cunning and false reasoning; but Lord Melville, for one, and I believe Lord Liverpool are quite of my way of thinking.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Ormond, of Lockinge, has of course heard from his son, from whom I have a letter dated the 14th of September, making good report of his proceedings. I understand the lieutenants of his ship (he is one of them) have made upwards of 2,000*l*.

The Admiralty have made us very gay for the last week: they gave me a day (*vide* Molloy),<sup>2</sup> and took to the burgundy and champagne very heartily. All passed off very well, and I believe their visit will give rise to many changes and deviations from Navy Board absurdities.<sup>3</sup>

Ever yours affec.

T. B. M.

P.S.—I will send you what has passed about the Bench<sup>4</sup> claims the first opportunity.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 32-5.

<sup>2</sup> Not understood.

<sup>3</sup> B. M. was then second in command at Plymouth; he was later on head of the Navy Board.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently a private matter.



*Endorsed.*—The French Minister of Foreign Affairs represents his objections to my decision on certain points, but my Govt. support me.

Plymton, October 12, 1814.

Sir Henry Martin, Bart., Lockinge, Wantage, Berks.

FROM W. HAMILTON, F.O.,<sup>1</sup> TO B. MARTIN.

Foreign Office, Sept. 27, 1814.

Sir,—You will perceive by the enclosed copy of a note from Monsr. Jaucourt, French Minister for Foreign Affairs *ad interim*, to the Duke of Wellington that the Government of France have renewed the claim, stated to have been brought before you and your late colleagues at Antwerp, for the payment by the United Provinces of one-third of the debts outstanding on those ships and naval stores, which in virtue of the 15th Article of the Treaty of Peace have been divided in the proportion of two-thirds and one-third between the two Governments of France and Holland.

Lord Liverpool has desired me to state this circumstance to you and to request your opinion upon it, and also that we may be furnished with any information you possess respecting the merits of the claim, as well as the grounds on which it was rejected by the Commissioners.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WM. HAMILTON.

Rear-Admiral Martin, Plymouth.

<sup>1</sup> This and the next three letters refer to a complaint from the French Foreign Office relative to carrying out the distribution at Antwerp.

*FRENCH MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO  
THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.*

[Not dated.]

My Lord,—It has been determined by the 15th Article of the Treaty of Peace that all vessels of war and allied vessels, also the naval artillery and stores which are found in those maritime places, restored by the French according to the second Article, and the Convention of the 23rd of April, shall be divided between France and the countries where those places are situated in the proportion of two-thirds to France and one-third to the Power to whom the said places belong. The marine department having considered that the Power to whom the third of the vessels, &c., were made over ought at the same time to take a third of the expenses of the constructing and arming them, in consequence sent instructions to the Commissioners named by the King to assist in the division at Antwerp ; but it appears that the Commissioners of the Allied Powers constantly refused to acknowledge the justice of this debt. The justice, however, my Lord, cannot be contested ; the vessels, boats, stores, &c., which are found in the aforementioned places are a property of which the division has been made ; the charges with which this property is burthened are inherent to it, and ought therefore in right to be divided with it. Not to agree to this condition would be to do away the proportion in which according to the terms of this Treaty this division should be made—for France cannot be considered as receiving the two-thirds of the articles divided if, besides the expenses with which her own part is burthened, she is to discharge those of the part made over to the Allied Powers. I must add that the spirit of the Treaty is quite conformable to this theory, since by the 30th Article it

was determined that the sums which are due for the public works on the Rhine or in the departments detached from France shall devolve on their future possessor, and this case presents an analogy with the subject in question, which will not escape your Excellency.

I am persuaded, my Lord, that the considerations which I have laid before you will appear conclusive. I beg your Excellency to make them known to your Government, and I do not doubt that they will give this Commission at Antwerp the necessary instructions, that the first demand made by the Commissioners of his Majesty in relation to the division of the debts contracted for the construction and equipment of the vessels, boats, &c., in question will be admitted without difficulty.

I have the honour to be,

(Signed) [Marquis de] JAUCOURT.

*B. MARTIN TO W. HAMILTON.<sup>1</sup>*

I beg to state to you for his lordship's information, that soon after the English Commission arrived at Antwerp allusion was made to debts incurred in various ways prior to the Convention of the 23rd of April, and I did distinctly refuse to entertain any subject so totally irrelative to the 15th Article of the Treaty of Peace.

The impression on my mind from the way in which the thing passed was, that the French Commissioners acquiesced in this opinion. If they had not, I should imagine the interference of the French Minister for Foreign Affairs would have been procured at an earlier period.

The claim suggested by the French Government, and which appears as foreign to the spirit as it is to

<sup>1</sup> [Not dated, but evidently a reply to F. O. letter, p. 32.]



the letter of the Treaty, is of a most unlimited nature, unless we are to look for its commencement in the very origin of the French establishment at Antwerp, for the whole of the ships built and equipped at that place were divided under the 15th Article of the Treaty of Peace; and if the question of debt could in possibility be entertained, it would not be difficult to show how largely the resources of Holland contributed to the creation and equipment of that force.

The fifteenth Article of the Treaty of Peace, whereby the division of the fleet and naval property at Antwerp was to be settled, is so conclusive that we should have thought it presuming in the highest degree to have deviated from the points so distinctly marked out to us, and in the statement of the settlement of the division the French Commissioners acknowledged that it was made to their satisfaction.

I am, &c.

T. B. MARTIN.

William Hamilton, Esq.

*B. MARTIN TO LORD MELVILLE.<sup>1</sup>*

Akbar, at sea, April 24th, 1815.

My Lord,—The Duke of Wellington having spoken to me on the subject of the observations which I had transmitted to Lord Castlereagh in August last, respecting the measures necessary to be taken with a view to the demolition of the naval works at Antwerp, and expressed a wish that I would write to the Secretary of State and point out any modification which, upon further examination, my first proposals might be capable of, but as the business which occasioned my being lent to the

<sup>1</sup> Inserted out of date, as it refers to B. Martin's work at Antwerp the previous year.

Foreign Office has long since terminated, and this being a new and distinct matter, and intended to be the subject of another commission, I cannot in propriety address Lord Castlereagh without the authority of my own Board, and therefore beg to state to your lordship what I have to say on the subject.

It seems in the outset desirable to call your lordship's attention to my original proposal, herewith sent, and I should observe by the way that it was submitted to Lord Castlereagh's consideration purely as it concerned the interest of England, without any feeling of delicacy for the Dutch, being well aware that whatever was due to them on that score would meet with every attention in the proper quarter.

It was sufficient for me to state simply what was necessary to be done to destroy Antwerp as a naval port.

The Duke of Wellington, partaking of the tenderness which Lord Clancarty expressed to me on this subject in regard to the Dutch, thinks it desirable that some mode should be found to destroy the means of naval equipment without touching the Basins, and the only method I can suggest of doing this with any tolerable effect is by sinking stones and driving a few piles in a line with the building slips, as marked at A in the map sent herewith.

The security to us in this point is that it will be difficult to find an equally good foundation for other slips in a place where the depth of water would be convenient for launching large ships.

Were I ordered to Antwerp to render the port useless to an enemy in a naval point of view, I should unquestionably consider the demolition of the Basins the most essential thing to be done ; but if this were not allowed, I should adopt the plan above mentioned,

in addition to the proposals in the original paper; and if my opinion is to be consulted, I should wish to be distinctly understood as meaning that while the Basins remain Antwerp retains its great and leading feature as a naval port.

The Duke of Wellington considers that the Basins might always be restored, or others made, and no doubt money will accomplish every work of such a nature; but it would require an infinite length of labour, and money to an amount beyond the reach of any continental government, unless the usurper of the French throne should have the power to revive his recent system of extortionate contributions.

The Duke of Wellington expressed an opinion that even if Bonaparte was again in the possession of Antwerp it is not probable that he would have that extent of dominion which enabled him to raise that port to its former importance; but upon this point it would not become me to offer any opinion.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

T. B. M.

The Viscount Melville.

*SIR SAMUEL HOOD TO B. MARTIN.*

Madras: 24th August, 1814

My dear Martin,—I will do all I can to serve your *protégé* Mr. Jenkins, and endeavour to shove him in somehow or other, though I have yet fourteen of the old Centaurs,<sup>1</sup> and only death and court-martial vacancies; the Admiralty are very strict, and we have no chance of service here to put them forward, as is done anywhere else.

You don't know what pleasure it afforded me

<sup>1</sup> Ship he commanded, and also had his flag in for some years.



when I saw at the beginning of the Russian business you were at Riga. You would be able to instil into those people brave exertion, and show them of what use energy might be when properly applied; the Russian does not want for valour or a desire to do what is required, but they apply it in general but badly. They have now shown that there are useful and zealous men in the country, and more honesty to the cause was never before exhibited; what a fine campaign was made of it!

I was very sorry to learn Mrs. Martin had, from illness, been the cause of taking you from your professional duties. I am glad to see you attend to your own happiness, and also have obtained a situation where your services may be very useful, though the country will lose more thereby. I must ever feel attached, my good friend, in everything that interests your welfare, for I never can forget those sentiments of regard that must attach to the occasions of our services together, independent of old friendship. Pray remember me to all your family, and those of the Fanshawes and Bastards. Lady Hood has been enjoying much of the interior of the peninsula of India, and travelled across from Bombay to Masulipatam by land, through Berar, Ellore, and Hyderabad, while I coasted it.

I have been most unfortunate in prizes; not one single American vessel has been captured by the squadron. They got their information too early in Asia by a running ship from Baltimore, and were too well prepared for the events, so that it is not improbable that I shall return as poor as I came out.

God bless you, my good friend,  
And believe me most sincerely yours,  
SAM HOOD.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir Samuel Hood died while Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies, after a most distinguished and successful career.

P.S.—What an unfortunate fellow Murray Maxwell has been to lose his ship<sup>1</sup> off [Ceylon] in running out [illegible, probably of Trincomalee].

General Hope seems to have been short with Sir James.

*ADMIRAL LORD HOOD TO BYAM MARTIN.*

Bath, Oct. 29th, 1814.

My dear Admiral,—I thank you most cordially for your very affectionate letter of the 20th, and wish the gratification had not been occasioned by the unfortunate accident that has befallen my much esteemed friend Admiral Domett, but rejoice he is so much better as to allow him to go to his home for a short time. Have the goodness to give me his country address, as I am ignorant of it. My much afflicted granddaughter, Mrs. Hood, bears up most nobly under the pressure of the severe shock it has pleased the Almighty to give her. She is all attention to the improvement of her lovely children, but so measures her time as to give me the pleasure of her company in my daily drives, which is of service to us both. She sincerely joins me in all kind regards to you and Mrs. Martin. My sister Howell went to her home on my return to Greenwich last May, where she still is, and probably will never move from thence; her memory is quite gone.

I am, my dear Admiral, with great truth and esteem,

Very faithfully your obedient, humble servant,  
HOOD.

Admiral Martin, &c. &c. &c.

*Endorsed.*—From Lord Hood in his 88th year.

<sup>1</sup> The *Dædalus*, 38-gun frigate; all the crew saved.

*B. MARTIN TO ADMIRAL HOPE AT ADMIRALTY*

Plymouth, March 19, 1815.

My dear Hope,—I believe I have done all that was necessary about the ships going to the Gironde, and the Eridanus will follow to-morrow, or Tuesday morning.

The Rhin and Nymphe are at Falmouth, where I have directed them to remain for further orders, thinking it best not to keep too many of our ships together during this awful pause ; they are to be held in constant readiness for sea.

The Goldfinch is also to make Falmouth her head-quarters, but hearing that the revenue is suffering much from an unusual activity amongst the smugglers, I have sent her between the Lizard and Land's End for a week, and we could employ one or two more on this useful service, and still have them constantly within call.

We began rigging the Melampus yesterday, and have her topmasts now on end, but I shall delay the actual transfer of the ships to the Dutch, believing that present circumstances will put an end to it altogether ; we have not had rest<sup>1</sup> enough to get ships forward for service in sufficient numbers to spare any to friends, under the exigencies now so unhappily in prospect.

The new state of things tends to justify the earnestness with which I pleaded for the destruction of Antwerp as a naval port, and I hope it will be accomplished ere it passes out of our hands. The work is simple, and needs no person to point out to the engineer that which at a more leisure moment would make the demolition more complete ; it will be enough to tell him to be prepared secretly to

<sup>1</sup> Men evidently meant, or strength.



blow up the basins, the Hanseatic store-house which stands between the two basins, the large church in the arsenal which has been fitted as a store-house, the blacksmith's shops, and rope-house ; this done, and we shall have no annoyance from a Scheldt fleet for some years.

Yours ever faithfully,  
T. B. MARTIN.

Letter March 1815 to Admiral Hope about destroying Antwerp.<sup>1</sup>

*MELVILLE TO B. MARTIN.*

Admiralty, 28th March, 1815, 7 P.M.

Sir,—It being deemed expedient that a British naval force shall forthwith proceed to the Scheldt for the purpose of co-operating with his Majesty's land forces in that neighbourhood in case hostilities should be renewed, you will hoist your flag on board the Akbar and proceed with the least practicable delay with that ship and the Tartarus to the Downs, where you may expect to receive further instructions. If the Tartarus shall not be ready, you will nevertheless take her under your orders, with directions for her following you.

I have notified to Admiral Sir John Duckworth, who I understand is at his house near Exeter, that this communication is made to you in order that he may proceed without delay to Plymouth ; but you will not postpone your departure from thence to wait his return.

Mr. Croker<sup>2</sup> and Mr. Barrow<sup>2</sup> being absent from

<sup>1</sup> The opening sentence refers to the movements of a naval force on the Gironde, probably to co-operate with the Royalists during Napoleon's march to Paris.

<sup>2</sup> The Secretaries, Admiralty.

the office, this instruction cannot without an inconvenient delay be transmitted to you in the usual form ; but corresponding orders will be sent to Sir J. Duckworth by to-morrow's post with reference to this letter.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

(Signed) MELVILLE.

Sir J. Duckworth will be directed no longer to consider you under his orders.

Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Byam Martin, K.C.B.

*MELVILLE TO B. MARTIN.*

[*Private.*]

Admiralty, 28th March, 1815.

Dear Sir,—I trust that the going on the service mentioned in the inclosed will not be inconvenient to you, and that your health will enable you to go on with it. If you should be unable for it we must endeavour to supply your place, though your remaining<sup>1</sup> there will be very satisfactory to us all, and I have no doubt to the Duke of Wellington also, if he shall take the command in Flanders.

We have sent an order to-day for the *Désirée* frigate and three smaller vessels to proceed from the Downs to Flushing, and they will be placed under your orders.

I remain, dear Sir,

Your very faithful, humble servant,

(Signed) MELVILLE.

Sir Thomas Byam Martin.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So written in copy.

<sup>2</sup> Napoleon landed in France March 1st, 1815, and arrived in Paris on the 20th. Our Government evidently lost no time.

*B. MARTIN TO J. W. CROKER, ESQ.*

His Majesty's ship Akbar, in the Downs,  
4th April, 1815.

Sir,—I request you will inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that I arrived at this anchorage late last night, and that I have received this morning the orders and letters stated in the inclosed.

Referring to your letter of the 28th ultimo directing me to lose no time in opening a communication with the Commander-in-Chief of the forces as to the nature and extent of the co-operation that is likely to be required from the navy, I beg to request their lordships' sanction to my proceeding direct to the head-quarters of the Commander-in-Chief of the army with a view of giving the most prompt, full, and complete effect to their lordships' directions, for by a personal interview with the Commander-in-Chief I shall be able to obtain explanation upon every point, and also to state without the tediousness of a correspondence whatever may appear to me desirable. I should also have the opportunity of seeing his Majesty's Minister at Brussels, and thereby smooth the way for an authorised attention to that part of their lordships' orders which relate to the naval means of the Dutch Government.

I am, Sir,

(Signed) T. B. MARTIN, Rear-Admiral.

J. W. Croker, Esq.

*B. MARTIN TO CAPTAIN WOOLRIDGE.*

By Sir Thomas Byam Martin, &c. &c. &c.

Whereas the island of Cadsand<sup>1</sup> is a place of the greatest importance for preserving the navigation of

<sup>1</sup> An important island, as it commands the southern entrance to the Scheldt on the opposite side of the river to Flushing.



the Scheldt, and for all matters connected with the military operation in Belgium :

You are hereby required and directed to take under your command the captain of the sloop named in the margin,<sup>1</sup> and proceed forthwith, and anchor in such a position as may enable you most effectually to guard against any *coup de main* by the French, to whom the position affords such great advantages that nothing will be left undone on their part to possess themselves of the island.

You are in your communication with the Commandant and officers at Cadsand to use the most encouraging language so as to give a right and energetic feeling with respect to the state of affairs, and to maintain the most friendly understanding with them.

You are to keep a most vigilant look-out for vessels coming alongshore, and to take care to apprise the Commandant of any which may have a suspicious appearance, and with a view of being constantly prepared for action you are to be very careful not to let any person out of sight of signal or to allow any more communication with the shore than is necessary.

Given on board the Akbar, in the Scheldt, 5th April, 1815.

(Signed) T. B. MARTIN, Rear-Admiral.

Captain Woolridge, H.M. ship *Désirée*.

By command of the Rear-Admiral.

Saml. S. Curgenven.

<sup>1</sup> Zephyr.

B. MARTIN TO SIR C. STEWART, H.M. MINISTER  
AT BRUSSELS.

His Majesty's ship Akbar, in the Scheldt,  
5th April, 1815.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you of my arrival in the Scheldt with a small squadron of his Majesty's ships, for the purpose of ascertaining if any naval co-operation can be necessary to the movements of the army, and to maintain the naval defences of the line, which the Commander-in-Chief may take for his operations.

When I have made myself acquainted with the state of things in the Scheldt, and placed some vessels to guard against a *coup de main* on Cadsand,<sup>1</sup> which is so completely the key of the river, I shall probably proceed immediately to the headquarters that I may be at once in possession of the Commander-in-Chief's views as to any naval co-operation; and I shall have the honour at the same time to pay my personal respects to you, and confer with you upon other points referred to in my instructions.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

(Signed) T. B. MARTIN, Rear-Admiral.

To the Right Honourable Sir Charles Stewart,  
K.C.B.

P.S.—I beg to inclose a copy of some information which I obtained yesterday before I sailed from the Downs.

LORD MELVILLE TO B. MARTIN.

[*Private.*]

Admiralty, 5 April, 1815.

Dear Sir,—I was sorry to find by your letter from Plymouth, as well as by one which I receive from

<sup>1</sup> From Dunkirk.

you to-day while you were in the Downs, that the state of your health renders it impossible for you to continue in the Scheldt. I have already stated to you, however, that in such a contingency your stay there would be only temporary, and I have no difficulty in mentioning now for your private information that, though I was well aware that the Duke of Wellington would be perfectly satisfied if he could have your assistance, it was desirable, if it became necessary to select some other officer, possibly a stranger to him, that I should previously communicate with him. I have accordingly authorised Mr. Pole, who went from hence two days ago with Lord Harrowby to Brussels, to mention to the Duke the names of several officers, with any one of whom I should be satisfied, but stating also what would be my own selection. On Mr. Pole's return, which we expect next week, I shall probably be enabled to announce to you the nomination of your successor, though a few weeks may possibly elapse before he can actually relieve you.

Your going to Brussels is not only advisable, but almost essentially necessary.

Believe me, dear Sir,  
Your very faithful, humble servant,  
MELVILLE.

Rear-Admiral Sir Thos. B. Martin, K.C.B.

*B. MARTIN TO SECRETARY, ADMIRALTY.*

His Majesty's ship Akbar, in the Scheldt,  
6th April, 1815.

Sir,—I have to acquaint you for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that I arrived at this anchorage yesterday morning, and found here the *Désirée*, *Actæon*, *Mercurius*, and



Zephyr, together with a Dutch frigate and a brig, the former bearing the flag of Vice-Admiral Van Braam, who is charged by the Dutch Government with the naval defences of the river.

I lost no time in communicating with the Admiral and Commandant at Flushing, and was glad to find that the equipment of a naval force for the above service is so far advanced, that in the course of ten days they will be in an efficient and formidable state, and their numbers daily increasing and capable of augmentation to a very large extent.

The Dutch vessels now at Flushing and daily expected are as follows :

At this anchorage, one frigate and a brig of eighteen guns.

In the basin, and will be complete within ten days, three brigs and thirteen very large sloop-rigged gunboats of three guns each.

In the Texel, and waiting only for a wind to get out and proceed hither, two large frigates, five brigs, and ten of the large gunboats.

The lines of fortification at Flushing are in a good state, but most of the guns have been dismounted and the island has not more than one thousand troops on it; and although the Admiral (who appears a zealous, active, well-affected man) thinks his squadron will be sufficient for the protection of the place and the river, I confess it seems to me desirable that Flushing should be more prepared as to troops and guns in order to render it secure.

The inhabitants of Walcheren are generally as I understand well affected to the present Government; but it seems that about 150 Frenchmen under various characters and denominations are in the town of Flushing, and they are disposed to promulgate reports and opinions of a dangerous tendency; but upon this and other points which occur

to me, I shall hope to see the British Minister at Brussels, and through him to procure immediate measures for the safety of the place, as also of Cadsand, from whence the troops have been long since withdrawn and the guns dismounted.

At Flushing there are two sail of the line, the Charlemagne and Cæsar, beginning to fit out, and intended for the East and West Indies.

At Antwerp there are five sail of the line nearly rigged, intended to come to Flushing; but instead of entering the basin it seems most prudent that they should be at this anchorage.

I should have mentioned that I wrote to the Commander-in-Chief of the forces the moment I arrived in this river, and informed him of my intention to get all local information and then wait on him at head-quarters, where I hope to arrive to-morrow evening.

I beg to transmit the copy of a letter<sup>1</sup> from Admiral Van Braam in reply to my inquiries respecting the force preparing for the defence of the river.

I have, &c.

(Signed) T. B. MARTIN, Rear-Admiral.  
J. W. Croker, Esq.

*B. MARTIN TO CAPTAIN PASCO.*

By Sir Thomas Byam Martin, &c. &c. &c.

You are hereby required and directed to proceed forthwith in his Majesty's ship under your command off Ter-Neusen and relieve the Mercurius, then send that brig to take such a station up the river towards Antwerp as will enable you to keep up a communication with her by telegraph.

You will use every exertion to obtain the most

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

accurate information as to the facility of transporting stores and cannon by the Ghent Canal to Ghent ; how long boats would be conveying stores, &c. ; if they would be liable to any impediment from winds or difficulty in the navigation.

Despatches will be sent up from time to time to be forwarded by boats with the utmost expedition from one ship to the other, and a pilot is always to be sent in the boat with them to prevent delay by getting aground.

Given &c. 7th April, 1815.

(Signed) T. B. MARTIN, Rear-Admiral.

Captain Pasco, H.M. ship *Tartarus*.

By command of the Rear-Admiral.

Samuel S. Curgenven, Secretary.

*TO CAPTAIN RENWICK.*

By Sir Thomas Byam Martin, &c. &c. &c.

You are hereby required and directed to proceed forthwith in his Majesty's sloop you command and anchor at the entrance of the Ghent Canal ; and use every exertion to obtain the most accurate information as to the facility of transporting stores and cannon from thence to Ghent, how long boats would be in conveying stores, and if they would be liable to any impediment from winds or difficult navigation, and the distance it is by land to Brussels, and Ghent.

Given on board the *Akbar*, 7th April, 1815.

Captain Renwick, H.M. ship *Mercurius*.

On the arrival of the *Tartarus* she will be directed to take your anchorage at Ter-Neusen, you are then immediately to proceed up the river towards Antwerp to such a distance as will enable you to keep up a telegraphic communication with that ship, and the



Pioneer is to be in advance from you towards Antwerp, at the same distance.

You are to collect all possible information respecting the navigation and other circumstances of the river.

(Signed) T. B. M.

*T. B. MARTIN TO CAPTAIN ROSS.*

Antwerp, 9th April, 1815.

[MEMO.]

It being necessary that a pilot should be employed for the purpose of navigating the boats with despatches from Flushing to this place, it is my direction that you bear on the books of his Majesty's sloop under your command an additional Dutch pilot accordingly.

(Signed) T. B. MARTIN, Rear-Admiral.

Captain Ross, H.M. ship *Actæon*.

*B. MARTIN TO MAJOR-GENERAL MACKENZIE.*

His Majesty's sloop *Actæon*, Antwerp,  
9th April, 1815.

Sir,—In compliance with the wish of the Commander-in-Chief of the troops signified in the letter you delivered to me from the Adjutant-General :

I have directed all the transports now in the Scheldt laden with provisions, forage, ammunition, and artillery, to proceed forthwith to Ostend to unload.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) T. B. MARTIN, Rear-Admiral.

Major-General Mackenzie, &c. &c. &c.

*B. MARTIN TO J. W. CROKER.*

Brussels, 11th April, 1815.

Sir,—I have to acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that I arrived at Brussels yesterday evening ; but only in time to see the Duke of Wellington for a few minutes, and he appointed this day to enter into a consideration of the matters relative to the employment of a squadron in the Scheldt ; observing by the way that he did not foresee any prospect of occasion for such assistance.

That I might trespass as little as possible on his Grace's time, and with a view of obtaining a distinct and satisfactory knowledge of his wishes upon every point connected with a naval co-operation in the Scheldt, and the naval defences of the river, I had prepared the accompanying papers which I requested his Grace would peruse, and make such observations against each article as would enable me to act upon his views, and afford the Admiralty such information as might lead to some conclusive arrangement.

I am just now returned from this appointed interview, and finding the post on the point of setting off for England, I hasten to transmit the original paper alluded to, which I request you will lay before their lordships ; and if I have not been sufficiently full in reference to the points contained in my instructions, the omission has not been from any want of anxiety to do justice to their lordships' desire to afford the most prompt and complete assistance which any possible circumstances might have required from them in this quarter.

My report to you, dated the 6th instant, coupled with what I have now the honour to transmit, I believe leaves me but little to add, unless it be to

express, as far as my judgment goes, an opinion that no materially active co-operation can be derived from the navy in the present prospect of military operations ; and even supposing the Scheldt to come more immediately within the scene of hostilities, it seems to admit of some doubt whether a naval force can be available to any greater extent upon Ter-Neusen or Cadsand, than the transport of them [troops, &c.] across the river, which might be desirable, and would no doubt require naval means ; but this I should imagine is looking to improbable contingency, as to make it only worthy of being kept in view when the war points towards the neighbourhood of those places.

It is right I should mention that the Duke of Wellington repeatedly said 'that he could not see any chance of his requiring naval assistance, as it was almost impossible for the Allies to be reduced to the necessity of acting on the defensive, they were advancing with such an overwhelming force.'

Their lordships will observe under the head of Flushing and Cadsand, that the fortifications are generally in a dismantled state ; and those at Cadsand appear to me in their present defenceless condition to hold out a strong temptation to a *coup de main* from Dunkirk, and a few soldiers once in possession of the strong work of Frederick Henry might hold it for a great length of time against almost any force ; and I was so strongly impressed with this idea that I lost no time in placing the *Désirée* in the Weiling passage, and as a still more effectual guard against any surprise I shall direct her to go further out abreast of the Sluys until their lordships' pleasure is known, for I conceive this to be the most material service that can at present be obtained from British ships in this quarter, and I should imagine one



frigate with a brig or two to keep up a communication with Admiral Van Braam, and to look out between Sluys and Ostend, is all that can be necessary under present circumstances. I mentioned this to the Duke of Wellington, and he expressed his entire approval of it.

The Duke was much struck with the report which I delivered to him (as well as Sir Charles Stewart) respecting the dismantled state of the works, and said he would immediately see the King upon it, and that immediate steps should be taken either to place the works in a proper state of defence or destroy them as should be thought best.

It appears by all the information I can collect that Ostend is certainly the most convenient and proper place for the unloading of the transports, and those which had entered the Scheldt have since been sent there.

The Duke of Wellington having expressed a wish that I would ascertain as soon as possible the probability of affording naval assistance in the defence of Ostend should it be attacked from Dunkirk, I am now about to proceed thither, and shall report my opinion to his Grace on my return through this place to Antwerp. Trusting that what I have done may be approved of, I shall wait the signification of their lordships' further commands at Antwerp, between which and the mouth of the Scheldt the ships are so placed that constant communication may be had with Flushing.

I am, Sir, &c.

(Signed) T. B. MARTIN, Rear-Admiral.

J. W. Croker, Esq.



*(Extract.)**MEMORANDUM FROM DUKE OF WELLINGTON  
TO BYAM MARTIN.*

The Duke of Wellington presents his compliments to Admiral Martin, and having perused his memorandums begs to acquaint him that it does not at present appear that there is any prospect of the army being attacked in this country.<sup>1</sup>

The Duke takes the liberty of recommending that Admiral Martin should reconnoitre Ostend, and should see how far gun-vessels and other craft could co-operate in the defence of that place, and that he should station a small force at the entrance of the Scheldt to observe that river.

The Duke of Wellington will communicate the Admiral's observations regarding Flushing and Cadsand to the King and the Prince of Orange.

Brussels, April 11th, 1815.

*B. MARTIN TO SIR H. MARTIN.*

Ostend, 15th April, 1815.

My dear Henry,—I have come to this place at the request of the Duke of Wellington to see what degree of naval co-operation might be afforded in the event of its being besieged, and having made up my mind upon the subject I am on the point of setting off for Bruges and on to Brussels to-morrow, and I hope to Antwerp on Tuesday, from whence (between ourselves) I expect to be immediately recalled, as the Duke has said distinctly that there is no prospect of things taking such a turn as to require naval assistance; in short, everyone in this part of the world are in the highest spirits, and all speak in

<sup>1</sup> A proof of the difficulty of foreseeing in war, coming events.

the most confident tone of putting down Bonaparte, and no doubt the huge and overwhelming force which is advancing with rapid strides towards the French frontier may justify this feeling. But still I fear there is much to do—the game desperate, and our adversaries no doubt expert both in war and trick to turn this dangerous sort of military usurpation to the best account.

I have no secretary with me, and my time is so taken up by official writing that I can only add how truly I am your affectionate

T. B. MARTIN.

The waiter opened the door just now to tell me that Lille had been delivered up to the English in consequence of the citizens having disarmed the troops, and declared their return to their allegiance to Louis; but I cannot meet with anyone to corroborate this story, and there is nothing to make it reasonable but the fickleness of the French character.

Sir Henry Martin, Bart., 26 Upper Harley Street, Cavendish Square, London.

*Endorsed.*—Admiral Martin, Ostend, 15th April, 1815.

*B. MARTIN TO J. W. CROKER.*

[*Secret.*]

H.M. ship Akbar, off Flushing,  
April 17th, 1815.

Sir,—I request you will inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that on my return to Brussels last Friday for the purpose of seeing the Duke of Wellington on the subject of my report upon Ostend, and other naval matters, his Grace intimated a hope that the Admiralty would be able to assist him by making a diversion in the mouth of the Seine with a force of ten thousand marines.



The Duke spoke in strong terms of the alarm which prevails at Paris and of the importance of the measure in question, not only with a view to its immediate effect on the minds of the people in the metropolis, but from its operating powerfully as a diversion in the rear of the French army. Without, however, entering into the motives which might influence his Grace's opinion, it was only necessary for me to know the importance he attached to such an undertaking in order to produce an earnest desire on my part to meet the proposition in the most encouraging way ; but knowing that it would not be possible to collect such a body of marines, I thought it my duty to say so distinctly.

His Grace then asked, 'Can they, do you think, make up 5,000 men and pass them off for ten?' I made the same negative reply, observing that several of the largest class of ships had lately been commissioned, and that I knew that the whole of the marine divisions could not produce anything like the number of men required for the completion of those ships, and that even with the marines now returning from America I was persuaded there would be much difficulty in collecting an adequate number for the wants of the service, as many of them would be entitled to their discharge.<sup>1</sup>

On a renewal of the conversation the following morning, the Duke inquired if two or three thousand marines might be reckoned upon, and I felt myself again under the mortifying necessity of discouraging (as far as my own opinion went) all expectation of such assistance, and I concluded by saying that I would only venture to state that his Grace might rely on the cordial desire of the Admiralty to afford

<sup>1</sup> *Note by Martin.*—When I left Plymouth a fortnight previous to this conversation there were only 29 marines at head-quarters, and the ships all short of their complements.

him the most unlimited co-operation in their power, but that I could not imagine the possibility of their best exertions enabling them to meet his wishes on this occasion.

Anxious that some means might be found of collecting a body of men for the service required I took the liberty to suggest to his Grace whether, as it seemed more intended to create a diversion than to pursue any course of active operations, it would be possible to employ the veteran battalions, but he said they were intended to garrison the fortresses in Belgium.

The conversation ended by the Duke desiring that I would communicate his ideas to the Admiralty, and that he would write to the Secretary of State on the subject.

I have related with strict accuracy, and I believe nearly verbatim, all that passed on this occasion, and if the opinion I gave is erroneous, it is an error on the right side, and will bear correcting better than if I had held out expectations which could not be realised. And I confess that no degree of reflection or calculation could bring me to anticipate the possibility that any exertions of the Admiralty, or any system of recruiting, could place within their lordships' reach the means of fulfilling the Duke of Wellington's wishes without crippling the navy to an extent that might not be prudent, or consistent with the various claims which a state of warfare must necessarily impose on the naval service.

In speaking of the return of the marines from America I meant only those in the ships, not knowing whether the marine battalions are in Canada, and likely to return home time enough for the service alluded to by the Duke of Wellington.

I am, Sir, your obedient

T. B. M.

J. W. Croker, Esq.

*B. MARTIN TO SIR HENRY MARTIN.*

Brussels, 17 April, 1815.

My dear Henry,—I returned from Ostend last night, and finding the Duke of Wellington gone to visit the advanced posts I must return here again from Antwerp on Friday.

Everything continues in the way of preparation with great spirit and activity, but it will nevertheless be at least three weeks before the allied armies can commence operations, a lamentable but unavoidable delay; in the meantime the force which is coming forward is of magnitude sufficient to accomplish all our wishes, if well directed, as I trust it will be; though I cannot but feel a dread of the Archduke Charles being at the head of the Austrians, which I believe is certainly the case.

The Emperor of Russia swears he will have 60,000 cavalry in France, besides his infantry, in less than two months; this of course includes Cossacks. The Russians are coming forward rapidly, but it seems to be the plan to wait for the greatest proportion of their army, that nothing may be put to hazard, and that the force should be so overwhelming as to carry all before it. Our troops are increasing fast and getting into high order.

Ever yours affectionately,  
T. B. M.

People here do not attach much importance to the Duke d'Angoulême falling into the hands of Bonaparte.

Sir Henry Martin, Bart., 26 Upper Harley Street, Cavendish Square, London.

*Endorsed.*—Admiral Martin, Brussels, 17 April, 1815. From Antwerp.



*B. MARTIN TO SEVERAL CAPTAINS.*

His Majesty's ship Akbar, off Flushing,  
24th April, 1815.

[GENERAL MEMO.]

Pursuant to orders from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty of the 29th of March :

It is my direction that their lordships' orders of the 15th of March for discontinuing the impressment and entering of seamen for his Majesty's service be not considered as any longer in force, and that on the contrary every exertion be used for carrying into effect the former orders on that head.

(Signed) T. B. MARTIN, Rear-Admiral.

Respective captains and commanders of H.M. ships and vessels in the Scheldt.

*B. MARTIN TO J. W. CROKER.*

His Majesty's ship Akbar, in the Downs,  
25th April, 1815.

Sir,—I request you will inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty of my arrival at this anchorage in his Majesty's ship Akbar, in company with the *Tartarus* and *Actæon*; having left the *Désirée*, *Zephyr*, and *Mercurius* in the mouth of the Scheldt, with orders to Captain Woolridge, of which I herewith send a copy.

You will please further to acquaint their lordships that I left Brussels Saturday evening, Antwerp on Sunday morning, and Flushing yesterday evening.

Referring to the report which I sent to you on the 18th inst. respecting Ostend, I beg to say that the Duke of Wellington, having expressed his entire concurrence in that statement, added the following observations in the margin against the paragraph

which recommends that two bombs, two brigs, and six gun-boats should be prepared :

‘The co-operation of these vessels in case Ostend should be attacked would be desirable ; but that event is now so improbable that I cannot think it desirable to keep in preparation these ships in contemplation of the necessity of their being so employed.’

And against the paragraph relating to the filling up of the harbour of Ostend from the want of back-water, the Duke says :

‘I have spoken to the King on this subject, and he has told me that measures have been ordered which will clear the harbour.’

I beg to add that I left lying in Flushing Roads two sail of the line, three frigates, and two brigs under Vice-Admiral Van Braam, and that the whole of the flotilla for the naval defences of the river are in a forward state of equipment, but very short of men.

The flotilla in the River Maes of thirty sail of gun-boats, Admiral Van Braam informed me was complete and ready for service.

My observations respecting Cadsand, Flushing, &c., of which I before sent you a copy for their lordships’ information, are left in the possession of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Chas. Stewart, the British Minister, to do whatever may appear needful, and from what I learnt from the Dutch Secretary (Mr. Falck) just before I left Brussels, I understand the works at Cadsand will be destroyed.

Having transferred to Admiral Scott the charge of co-operating with his Majesty’s land forces in Belgium, and given him all necessary information as directed by their lordships in your letter of the 15th inst., I shall immediately proceed to Plymouth in the Akbar agreeably to their lordships’ order.

I beg to transmit the state and condition of his Majesty's ships.

I am, Sir, &c.

(Signed) T. B. MARTIN, Rear-Admiral.

J. W. Croker, Esq.

*B. MARTIN TO SIR H. MARTIN.*

My dear Henry,—I send you the letter of Lord Melville respecting Antwerp, and of course they will consider me too unyielding to be employed in any new commission, but I speak according to the best of my judgment, and with a feeling for the interest of England, which is too much lost sight of by those who calculate on the influence which a member of the Dutch family may ere long have in the British Councils. I can tell you much upon this subject when we meet, but I would not be known to entertain opinions that could suppose great people to have such views; and I am inclined to think my letter to Lord Melville is in plainer terms than is quite agreeable to Lord Castlereagh or Lord M. It is extraordinary that the letter in question has never been answered—but keep everything on this matter to ourselves.

William<sup>1</sup> is going in the Glasgow under the care of Duncan,<sup>2</sup> who is in every respect an excellent man.

Ever yours affec.

T. B. MARTIN.

Plymouth Dock,<sup>3</sup> May 10, 1815.

Sir Henry Martin, Bart., 26 Upper Harley Street, Cavendish Square, London.

<sup>1</sup> His eldest son, afterwards Sir W. Fanshawe Martin, G.C.B.

<sup>2</sup> Captain the Honourable Henry Duncan, an excellent officer.

<sup>3</sup> Devonport was so called till it became a separate borough in 1824.



(Extract.)

B. MARTIN TO SIR H. MARTIN.

Kitley, June 20th, 1815.

My dear Henry,—Under the embargo of a wet day which prevents our return to Plymouth, and in obedience to Sarah's<sup>1</sup> orders, I take up my pen to acknowledge, with due feelings of contrition, that I am almost as lazy a scribe as yourself, and but for the letter you favoured me with two days ago I might begin this as Hope<sup>2</sup> did to me the day before he started for Scotland, viz : 'Are you dead or alive?' The truth is, my good fellow, that you are a very worthy man in your way, but certainly a very bad correspondent, and your abuse of me (which Sarah repeats with all the bitterness you could wish) is nothing more or less than the pot calling the kettle *black*.

Plymouth Dock, Tuesday Evening.

An interval of dry, and the encouraging sight of blue sky which we had not seen before for some days, induced us to drive in from Kitley just now, but before we reached home the weather was as bad as ever. I find a French frigate was sent in this morning by two of our cruisers, the *Tay* and *Actæon*; she is from Martinique bound to Dunkirk, and the fellow refused at first to come in, but the *Actæon* having exchanged a few harmless shot, and taking a judicious position on the frigate's bow, the *Tay* was enabled to close, and after some consultation with his officers the French captain was intimidated into an acquiescence, and here she is with the white flag flying.

<sup>1</sup> His sister, Mrs. Bastard, of Kitley.

<sup>2</sup> Admiral Hope, who succeeded Sir J. Saumarez in the Baltic as Commander-in-Chief.

We have an official account of the capture of the Penguin by the Hornet after an action of forty-five minutes in which Captain Dickinson and thirteen men were killed, and twenty-eight wounded, but the capture of the vessel was more owing to the loss of her foremast and bowsprit than to the above large diminution of her numbers. The Yankee invited the English seamen to go to America with him, but to their honour not one would go, though I am sorry to say the Hornet had a large proportion of our countrymen on board.

Mr. Bastard is surprisingly better for his little tour to Sharpham and Torbay, though he is not quite so well again to-day ; but you must not allow your ideas of his amendment to be lifted too high from any report you may receive from Sarah, for she has seen him in his best moments, and came here in full expectation that she should be shocked by his appearance.

*B. MARTIN TO SIR HENRY MARTIN.*

Plymouth, August 15th, 1815.

My dear Henry,—I cannot gratify you, or rescue the honour of the navy, by denying the reports you allude to about Bonaparte's reception on board the Bellerophon ; it was fully to the extent you mention, and seeing the impression which his terror-striking presence occasioned, I am told he acted the Emperor in high style. Nor did Bertrand play his part with less address ; for he was scarcely on board before he commenced the duties of chief of the palace by inviting such officers to dine with his Imperial Majesty as he had condescended to name, and at dinner they were placed in their chairs with much ceremony, and according to their rank ; and the humbug was

carried on so well that no head was covered in his presence.

I should deserve all the curses which you and Joe,<sup>1</sup> in your cups, had prepared for me had I degraded my situation and myself by treating this base, detestable coward in any other way than common civility would require ; though my civility would, I fear, have savoured strong of indignation and abhorrence of his crimes, and contempt for one who, after exciting a nation to rebellion, was the first to run away. Had I been captain of the *Bellerophon* I would at least have made him sensible that I was the Emperor on her quarter-deck.<sup>2</sup>

I am not quite satisfied at our having the custody of the fellow ; he would be much better attended to in Siberia ; besides, if the war goes on in France, which I think very likely, they will lay hands on Lord Wellington or some principal officer and not part with him but in exchange for Bony. Cockburn<sup>3</sup> and the Monster go on very well together, and the former is said to have done him out of five guineas the first day at cards ; if this be the case Cockburn will regret that his messmate's money was taken away (380*l.*) before they proceeded on the voyage.

Captain Halliday, who is here, tells me his

<sup>1</sup> Next younger brother to Sir H. Martin.

<sup>2</sup> It is only fair to give Sir F. Maitland's account in a letter to a newspaper, which, however, proves that the subject had excited considerable comment. 'I must state Bonaparte never conducted himself with arrogance while on board the *Bellerophon*. He knew the world too well, and was aware he could not have adopted a manner more likely to have defeated any wish he might have entertained of being considered as a crowned head. In fact, he never attempted to exact such respect—so far from its being shown him, he had not even the customary honour paid to a general officer paid to him on his coming on board : any honour that could be construed into those due to the former rank he had held did not originate with me, and certainly were not demanded by him.'

<sup>3</sup> Rear-Admiral Sir G. Cockburn, K.C.B., who commanded the squadron conveying Napoleon to St. Helena.



manager is not yet arrived, but he will let me know when he does.

I returned from Kitley this evening and left Mr. Bastard very tolerably well, and enjoying the idea of going to Malta in October.

Everything is ordered to be paid off, and the old guard-ship system forthwith established; those at this port will be the Impregnable, Malta, Superb, Spencer, and probably two more. I am glad that we are to have a general discharge from the service; it will leave those at liberty who wish to go, and get rid of that little feverish sort of impatience so common when things draw to a close.

I suppose my flag will come down shortly; old Keith's will be struck to-day or to-morrow. At present I have more than ever to do with the dismantling the ships, &c., and I assure you neither the Admiralty nor Navy Board leave me much leisure, for scarcely a day passes without my receiving a letter from one or the other, and frequently three from the Navy [Board] by one post, asking questions and desiring my report upon various matters connected with my scheme of revision, and new arrangements of their own; but, although they make such a tool of me, I have never yet had an acknowledgment of my 113 vols. of Revision, and, except through Hope, not an expression of approval—far from it indeed, for on an application to Lord Melville, seconding one from the Commissioner,<sup>1</sup> for Arthur's promotion so far back as the beginning of May, I have not even had an answer to my letter; and after sixty years of faithful, and formerly of distinguished services, the Commissioner's son would have no chance of promotion but upon my nomination on striking my flag. I am vexed at such unfair

<sup>1</sup> Captain Robert Fanshawe, who commanded the *Namur* on April 12th, 1782.

treatment, and it makes me tremble at the idea of sending two boys to sea ; but they will go in spite of me.

Little William is unwell, and the symptoms, though in a mild degree, indicate the scarlet fever ; but Dr. Woollcombe says he is better this morning, and after eating a good allowance of breakfast he has sent to say he will trust to our generosity for more.

The Irish command which Hope spoke of some time ago is given away.

Ever yours affectionately,

T. B. MARTIN.

Plymouth, August 16th, 1815.

Sir H. Martin, Bart., Hearne, Canterbury.

Per Bastard.

*LORD MELVILLE TO B. MARTIN.*

Cowes, 30th Sept., 1815.

Dear Sir,—As I perceive by the returns from the Admiralty that your flag has been struck at Plymouth, I should feel that I was not discharging my duty if I abstain'd from returning you my best thanks for all your zealous exertions in the various services on which you have been employed since I have held my present situation.

I have always felt great comfort on those occasions because I was confident that whatever was assigned to you would be well done, and in no instance, however trivial, have my expectations been disappointed ; on the contrary, they have been satisfactorily and amply fulfilled.

I have the honour to remain, dear Sir,

Your very faithful and obedient servant,

MELVILLE.

*Endorsed.*—From Lord Melville on hauling down his flag, Sept. 1815, and reply. T. B. M.

*B. MARTIN TO LORD MELVILLE.*

October 3rd, 1815.

My Lord,—At an early period of my employment as a flag-officer I had the satisfaction to receive most gratifying expressions of your lordship's favourable opinion, and of the approbation of his Majesty's Government respecting the transactions at Riga.

In the various duties which have been subsequently assigned to me I have felt very sensibly the encouraging way in which your lordship has viewed my conduct ; and now on the close of all, the cordial terms in which your lordship in your letter of the 30th ultimo has been pleased to allude to my services throughout, is another valuable memorial of your approbation, which I cannot too highly esteem, or too gratefully acknowledge.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

T. B. M.

(*Extract.*)

*B. MARTIN TO SIR H. MARTIN.*

Plymouth, December 5, 1815.

My dear Henry,—It is hard to make a modest man his own biographer, and I therefore consign to your own discriminating judgment the task of answering another importunate note from my friend Sir George Nayler,<sup>1</sup> who it seems will not be satisfied without my life and adventures ; and as you have traced me in all my movements, I know not to whom I could apply but to yourself for such sort of help, though I am willing to try and sneak out of the recollection of the great Sir George, and tire him by a continued silence. As for Stumpy, he will get none

<sup>1</sup> Garter King at Arms.



from me on such an occasion, so he may as well hold his tongue.

Your letter of the 4th is just come to hand, and I am told the paragraph you quote from the 'Morning Chronicle' is also verbatim in the 'Statesman,' and therefore evidently written by some disappointed good-natured man, and my suspicions point to our friend Percy Fraser; but whether it will be politic to get into a correspondence with two violent opposition papers deserves thought, notwithstanding the mortification I should feel at so false a report obtaining credit, and the desire I must naturally have to contradict it; but in doing so I may perhaps<sup>1</sup>

B. M. was appointed Deputy Comptroller of the Navy in January 1815, and Comptroller early in 1816.

LORD EXMOUTH TO B. MARTIN.

July 21st, 1816.

My dear Sir B.,—Your *élève*, Mr. Rob Gordon, joined to-day, and a very fine young man he appears. I shall be glad to be useful to him. Many thanks for your care of my wants; I think you have completely equipped us, and with a rapidity<sup>2</sup> which does you and the country honour. I hope I shall make good use of the means I am entrusted with. I have no doubt of success, although I will [not] despise my enemy. We shall work hard to learn the use of our arms,<sup>3</sup> and I hope this horrible foul wind and bad

<sup>1</sup> The remainder of the letter cannot be found.

<sup>2</sup> The fleet was commissioned at the end of June at Portsmouth, sailed July 25, and from Plymouth 28th, and on August 27 the battle of Algiers was fought, only two months after commissioning.

<sup>3</sup> 'Every day except Sunday, on the passage out, the men were exercised at the guns, and with a 12-pounder on the poop; the first and second captain of guns were exercised firing at a small target of laths three feet square, crossed with rope yarn so close

weather will give us a short voyage to Gibraltar. The Queen C. are in good spirits and I like their looks at quarters.

Believe me, sincerely yours,

EXMOUTH.

*LORD EXMOUTH TO B. MARTIN.*

Queen Charlotte, Gibraltar, 12th September, 1816.

My dear Sir Byam,—Although I could not find a moment to write to you after our work was over, yet I assure you I thought of you, and had intended, as my secretary can tell you, to have thanked you in my public dispatch for your after-bitts, which we found most useful and important in our delicate situation. They brought us up admirably, and by a telegraph to a small wheel abaft the regular one to regulate the tiller by, we managed to check, veer, &c., and without a word. I shall always feel obliged to you for suggesting the plan, and more for the celerity with which you executed it for all the ships. The chains<sup>1</sup> we had not meant to use, as we could not be sure of our rate of sailing, and must have run on the rocks had they broke. The anchor hoy was very serviceable. Young Gordon, who I like amazingly, is a very fine young man; he did duty as a lieutenant of this ship in a vacancy arising out of appointments to the flotilla and gun-boat and explosive vessel of Lieutenant Harding. These promotions are gone home by Brisbane;<sup>2</sup> but whether confirmed or a 12-pounder shot could not go through without cutting one, and a piece of wood the size and shape of a bottle for a bull's-eye. After a few days' practice the target was never missed, and on an average ten or twelve bottles were hit every day.'—*Life of Lord Exmouth.*

<sup>1</sup> Chain cables, which were not considered equal to hemp cables at that period, not having been proved.

<sup>2</sup> Sir J. Brisbane, flag-captain, knighted on bringing dispatches of action home.

not, he will be when we arrive, I trust, and many other gallant lads, who all behaved incomparably. I think Impregnable must be paid off for repairs, she is so cut up. If Lord Melville takes a hint, he had better give a first rate to each port to make England respected. I hope to reach Portsmouth about the 10th of October, and as our hospital<sup>1</sup> is taken from us, all our wounded purpose coming home instead; the army surgeons have more now than they can do.

Believe me, ever yours,  
EXMOUTH.<sup>2</sup>

*LORD EXMOUTH TO B. MARTIN.*

Queen Charlotte, 7th October, 1816.

My dear Sir Byam,—One good turn deserves another, and you shall not be disappointed in your hopes for Mr. Gordon.<sup>3</sup> Lord M. must be more liberal and I hope will when we meet, which I hope will be in a day or two.

Sincerely yours,  
EXMOUTH.

<sup>1</sup> The Naval Hospital, built specially for the navy during the war, and given up to the army when peace was declared, a small portion being reserved for the navy—the remainder conditionally till required. Great difficulty was made to giving it up in 1890, when it was required.

<sup>2</sup> Note to this letter in the writing of B. Martin, who was then Comptroller of the Navy:

‘When the fleet was ordered to prepare for the attack on Algiers, I suggested to Lord Exmouth the advantage of having after-bitts fitted, that the ship might anchor and bring up conveniently with a cable out of the stern-port, which was done by all the ships; and this letter acknowledges the advantage of the after-bitts. They were afterwards ordered to be fitted to all ships.’ It is strange, after the experience of the Nile and Copenhagen, it had not been done earlier.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Gordon’s promotion was dated September 16. He was made a post-captain on January 10, 1837.



MR. WALKER, MASTER R.N.,<sup>1</sup> TO B. MARTIN.

No. 18 Cobourg Place, Plymouth, October 4th, 1822.

Hond. Sir,—Having lately made several experiments on the magnetic needle, I am strongly impressed with an idea that the adoption of iron masts in our Service will be attended with considerable danger from their effect on the compasses, and my suspicions are founded on the following principle, viz. that the upper end or part of any piece of iron becomes magnetised.

This has been long known, and the effects have not been attended with any ill consequences of importance, because the different nails, bolts, stanchions, &c., that are placed in a vertical position, are at considerable distance from the compasses in proportion to their length, so that what the upper end attracts, the lower end repels, and thereby a balance is nearly obtained. But it will be very different with iron masts, they being of such a length, their lower ends will most powerfully attract the south pole of the needle.

In order to understand more fully my meaning, I beg leave to recommend the following simple experiment.

Take a common compass and a piece of iron of any convenient length, even a poker, place the iron in a vertical position and apply the compass to the upper end, which will attract the north point, the lower end the south, and near the middle being the point of no attraction; by reversing the iron, if it be soft, the same effect will take place. This will

<sup>1</sup> A distinguished navigator and an excellent seaman, who was for many years King's Harbour Master at Plymouth.

be the case with all iron whatever, even a shot, and proves beyond a doubt that the iron becomes magnetised.

Again, place the compass on the table and place the piece of iron in a horizontal position, with one of its ends near the S. point. East or west from it, little effect will be observed in this position of the iron, but raise the further end of the iron gradually until it is upright, and the south point will approach and recede as the hand is raised or lowered. Now I have always found that the longer the iron, the greater is the attraction and repulsion of the ends, and the longer the iron remains in a vertical position the stronger is the magnetic influence, and from these considerations I infer that iron masts will have great influence on the compasses, and that influence will continue to increase.

Considering the middle of the main-mast to be the point of no attraction, it must be remembered that the whole of the metal below this point will attract the south point of the compass. The mast-head and upper parts being at too great a distance to balance the influence of its heel and parts below, and the fore-mast and bowsprit acting in a similar but weaker manner, I have no doubt but the compasses will be affected thereby.

I have considered it my duty to submit these considerations to you, being well aware that too much care cannot be taken in everything that relates to the steering of a ship, and I submit whether it would not be prudent to watch the effects of the iron masts may produce on the compasses when any vessel may be so masted, bearing in mind that E. and W. are the best points for that purpose.

I beg leave to apologise for troubling you with a detail of circumstances that are perhaps better understood by yourself than me, and have only to

urge as an excuse my sincere wishes for the safety of his Majesty's ships.

Hond. Sir,

I am your most obedient, humble servant,

WILLIAM WALKER, Master R.N.

To Vice-Admiral Sir T. B. Martin, K.C.B. &c.  
&c. &c.

*Endorsed.*—Mr. W. Walker about compasses.

*PROFESSOR BARLOW<sup>1</sup> TO B. MARTIN.*

Royal Military Academy, Oct. 16th, 1822.

Sir Byam,—In answer to the question you have done me the honour to propose, respecting the effects of iron masts on the compass, I beg to reply that there can be no question that they will influence the compass very considerably, and that it would be prudent to ascertain the amount of the deviation they produce before they are permitted to proceed on any voyage of difficult navigation. This is the more necessary for the following reasons, viz. :

It is well known at present that the compass of every vessel is subject to considerable deviation in consequence of the action of the iron, the greater portion of which being below the compass, the effect of it is universally (or at least in the northern hemisphere) to draw the north end of the needle forward, and therefore the courses are in all cases less northwardly than they are reckoned to be. This influence seamen, from long habit, are accustomed to make an allowance for, although it is commonly attributed to some other cause, and by this means they find their way into a channel or port with tolerable accuracy.

Now the iron masts will be considerably above

<sup>1</sup> The highest authority of his day on Magnetism.



the compass, and their tendency will be to draw the south end of the needle forward and it is not improbable that their power may so nearly balance that of the guns, ballast and tanks, as to correct almost entirely the effects of the latter. I have, however, some doubt whether their influence may not be considerably greater, and if this should be the case, and the allowance above alluded to be made as usual, some danger may be apprehended. Mr. Walker is therefore, I conceive, very correct when he says 'that it will be prudent to watch the effects of the iron masts on the compass.'

I have done myself the honour of inclosing you a copy of one of the sections of the second edition of my 'Magnetism,' at present in the press, and you will see, by referring to the experiments on the Barracouta, how very considerably the compass was influenced only by the spindle of the capstan, and there is certainly every reason to think that the power of the mast would be still greater, the magnitude being such as to make up, I conceive, altogether for the greater distance.

I have by me a model of a 74, on the scale of a quarter of an inch to a foot, which shows very accurately and satisfactorily the usual influence of the iron on vessels of that rate, and I will have it fitted with main mast, fore mast, and bowsprit to the same scale in iron, and should be happy if you would then allow me to show it to you, from which I have no doubt you will be able to form a very correct idea of what the iron mast will produce on the vessel at large.

I have the honour to be, Sir Byam,  
With great respect your very obedient  
and humble servant,

PETER BARLOW.

To Sir T. B. Martin, Comptroller, &c. &c. &c.

*Endorsed.*—Professor Barlow about iron masts and compasses—a man of great intelligence and learning.

H. B. MARTIN TO B. MARTIN.

My dear Father,—*I have passed!!!*

I have seen Lieutenant Brace, and will be in town by 6 to-morrow evening. Portsmouth is upside down owing to the warlike preparations making in the guard ships.

Ever yours affectionately,  
H. B. MARTIN.<sup>1</sup>

Tuesday evening.

Date of post-mark, 12th March, 1823.

Admiral Sir Thomas B. Martin, Somerset House,  
London.

SIR H. TAYLOR, MILITARY SECRETARY,  
TO B. MARTIN.

Horse Guards, May 18, 1823.

My dear Sir,—I should not have delayed replying to your letter of the 17th if I had been free from interruption when I received it. I cannot but rejoice that my profession is about to receive a recruit from so good a stock, and I shall have great pleasure in conveying your application to the Commander-in-Chief for a commission for your son. That it will receive his interest and best attention I cannot doubt, and it shall be my study to bring his name forward when there is an eligible vacancy. I should observe, however, that the chances are against it occurring without purchase, as casualties in the junior ranks do not often happen at home, and there are supernumerary ensigns in most of

<sup>1</sup> Promoted to Lieutenant, March 28th; Commander, April 6th, 1825; Captain, April 28th, 1827.

the regiments abroad. On the other hand, the purchase offers the choice of regiment and station.

Whenever I hear further from you upon the subject I will mention your wish to H.R.H.<sup>1</sup>

Believe me ever, my dear Sir,

Most sincerely yours,

H. TAYLOR.

Vice-Admiral Sir Byam Martin, K.C.B.

*SIR H. TAYLOR TO B. MARTIN.*

Horse Guards, 5th July, 1823.

Major-General Sir Herbert Taylor presents his compliments to Sir Byam Martin, and has the honour to acquaint him, by direction of his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief, that his Majesty has been pleased to appoint his son, Mr Robert Fanshawe Martin, to an Ensigncy, by purchase, in the 22nd Regiment.

Vice-Admiral Sir Byam Martin, K.C.B.

&c. &c. &c.

*CAPTAIN BROWN<sup>2</sup> TO B. MARTIN.*

Tartar, Valparaiso, Feb. 28, 1824.

My dear Sir Byam,—On my arrival here I had the pleasure of receiving your kind letter dated November 3, and those you were so obliging as to inclose from Mrs. Brown. I beg to return you my sincere thanks for the offer you have been so good as to make, and I hope she will avail herself of so fortunate an opportunity. Your son,<sup>3</sup> I feel great pleasure in saying, is a fine promising young man and has his ship in high order; he has had an opportunity of giving me a proof of the correctness

<sup>1</sup> The Duke of York, Commander-in-Chief of the Army.

<sup>2</sup> Senior officer on West Coast of South America.

<sup>3</sup> The late Admiral Sir W. Martin, G.C.B., then in command of H.M.S. Fly.



of his ideas in his reply to letters and statements made relative to a ship called the Stanmore, captured and sent into Chiloe by a Spanish privateer. His proceedings on this occasion I highly approve, and it reflects great credit on his judgment in the method he pursued to obtain the real state of the case. I am about to send the [illegible] to demand a restoration of British property sent into Chiloe, and if I am not successful in falling in with a schooner that has acted more like a pirate than a legal vessel I shall send your son to try his luck, and I feel confident he will perform the service to my satisfaction, and not do anything rash. I have only to regret the service will not permit our being more together. I have appointed a very fine young man to act as lieutenant by the name of Wynn, who, I hope, may be confirmed in February by the Commander-in-Chief. He is related to Sir Watkin W. Wynn, and my worthy friend Sir Thomas Hardy<sup>1</sup> is interested in his behalf; his own merits induced me to name him to Sir Thomas when I left Callao the end of January. The Peruvian Government had sent the Minister of War to treat with the Spaniards, I believe only for an armistice, as Colonel Purr, secretary to Bolivar, assured me Bolivar would never consent to the Spaniards remaining in Peru as Spaniards. He was actively employed in organising his army near Truxillo,<sup>2</sup> consisting of about 12,000; the half of that number are well disciplined Columbians. 3,000 more had sailed from Panama to join him, and he had written to Columbia to have 10,000 more ready in case of any defeat: he will open the campaign in April. I have the greatest reliance in his<sup>3</sup> abilities

<sup>1</sup> Commodore Sir T. Hardy, Nelson's flag-captain at Trafalgar, Commander-in-Chief in South America.

<sup>2</sup> On the sea coast of Peru north of Callao.

<sup>3</sup> Bolivar was a native of Caracas, in Venezuela.

and exertions ; indeed, without him there would be but little hopes, as there is great want of talent, energy, and born courage in the Peruvian officers. The Director of Chili has gone to Concepcion to assemble a force with the intention of attacking Chiloe. It is reported here that the Spaniards are going to send a force from Cadiz, as their men in Upper Peru are constitutional.<sup>1</sup> I am not without hope they may be induced to acknowledge the independence of these States, and form part of the Government of Peru, and I am inclined to think Bolivar would readily consent, as he has a high opinion of their talents. I wish we had acknowledged their independence as they are much attached to us, and might make most favourable treaties for our commerce. As the post is going out I must conclude, and believe me, I remain, my dear sir, with the highest respect, yours truly,

M. BROWN.

Prescott<sup>2</sup> is gleaning at St. Blas, and I think will bring a good freight ; I expect he will join me in May.

*SIR H. NEALE, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF MEDITERRANEAN, TO B. MARTIN.*

[*Private.*]

April 14th, 1824.

My dear Martin,—I cannot conscientiously permit the messenger to depart without charging him with an additional letter to you, by way of keeping myself fresh in your remembrance. The news from hence you will probably learn from the

<sup>1</sup> The Constitution established in Spain, after the great war was abolished by Ferdinand VII., after the French had put down the liberal rising in Spain in 1823. Captain Brown probably alludes to this.—Alison, chapter xii. 430.

<sup>2</sup> Captain of H.M. frigate Aurora.

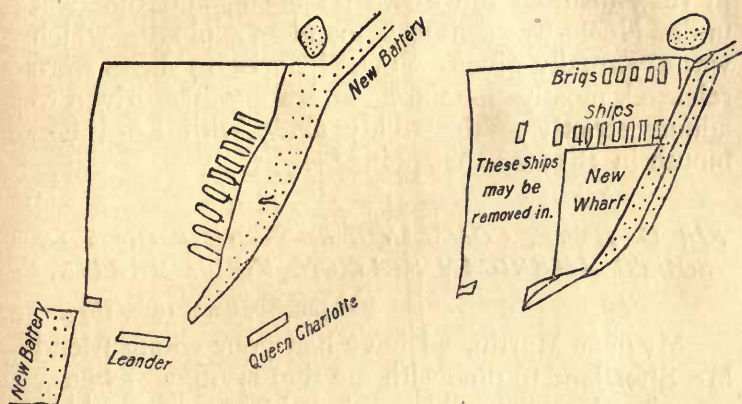
Admiralty, but notwithstanding I will give you some few details, which in point of fact will embrace the whole affair of Algiers. After the conduct of the Dey in forcing the Consul's house, and his striking his flag in consequence and quitting the Regency, hostilities immediately commenced, but on my appearance in the Bay,<sup>1</sup> a flag of truce came out under the protection of the American flag, with an offer of consent to the conditions that have been previously delivered to the Dey, with one single exception—viz. permission to hoist the British flag within the town, this being a new demand, but consenting as formerly that the flag might fly on the Consul's house in the country. Not having any authority to depart from the letter of my instructions which were positive, I could only persist in the demand ; in consequence of which the Dey wrote to the King himself, and I of course made my representation of what had passed upon this occasion, and which has been approved of. I was then authorised, on certain conditions, to dispense with the claim to hoist the flag on the Town House, and vainly flattered myself with some expectation that this might set all right, although I had reason to suspect that objections might be made to the Consul ; but as this had never been stated to me from any authority, but only subsequently collected, it was not for me to anticipate an obstacle, which if thrown in the way of a negotiation, I could not for an instant admit. I therefore proceeded, and after two minor conferences, I decided at the particular desire of the Dey to wait upon him myself, which I accordingly did, taking Captain King of the *Active* with me—after a long and perfectly useless discussion, during which the Dey consented to sign all the papers, and to fire the usual royal salute, but this I desired

<sup>1</sup> Of Algiers.



might be deferred until the whole was concluded. He said his word was as good as his signature ; this I was of course obliged to admit there could be no doubt of, but still desired his signature might be affixed first. This produced his positive refusal to receive the Consul again, and the consequent rupture of our conference. I now hope that the Admiralty will send me out six bomb-vessels, but no other things, unless they decide upon a cannonade as with Lord Exmouth. The former I have represented as the most effectual, and have stated my reasons—the latter as being a combat between the ships and forts without a chance of doing any essential injury to the town, as the batteries are in advance of the houses, and the height of them considerably more than a ship's hull, consequently no point-blank shot could injure the town from our ships. The risk of loss would therefore be greater than the advantage to be obtained, as two new and powerful batteries have been constructed on the points that were most deficient, when Lord Exmouth made his attack—viz. one of thirty guns on two tiers and another of sixteen guns close to the water's edge, both bearing on the position that the Queen Charlotte occupied. The interior of the Mole is likewise considerably improved, by widening the inside part of the wharf from the Mole Head into the centre of the Mole, and thus affording protection to their ships against an attack by cannonade as they experienced from Leander. The two plans—No. 1 shows the form of the Mole and position of the ships at the time of the attack, and No. 2 the present form and positions, thus protecting them against fire-vessels also, as they would be obliged to turn from their straight course inwards and in a confined space at a right angle, where there is no current to aid them.

I have sent sketches and every possible explanation to Lord Melville, and have represented my opinion on all particulars, as Mr. Croker begged I would do. I wish you could see the plans. I have written two letters to Lord Melville by this conveyance; in the latter there is repetition of my first letter, but more particulars, because I had proposed in the first instance to write to Mr. Croker my private sentiments, but on second thoughts I preferred being explicit with the First Lord. If you are called upon, let us have at least



six bombs, for with that number I could lay the town in ruin and soon bring these people to their senses. But a joint attack by land and sea would infallibly take the town, when every fortification might be destroyed, and the Mole filled up with the rubbish of them close at hand, at least sufficiently so for the purpose of destroying it as a harbour for ships of any considerable size. When you send out any vessel to Malta, will you give permission for a woman (Mrs. Shuper) to have a passage in her? she is wife to one of my band of musicians. It is now near ten weeks since I left Malta. My present

plan is to proceed there immediately to replenish, and then deposit Lady Neale at Leghorn, from whence she may go to Lucca until the affair of Algiers is settled. Pray remember me in the kindest way to Lady Martin and my young friends.

And believe me, my dear Martin,  
Most truly and faithfully yours,

H. NEALE.

Revenge, Marseille, April 14th, 1824.

[This letter alludes to the Dey of Algiers having in 1823 insulted the British Consul, and the fleet under Neale was sent to demand an apology—which was eventually given. Several Christian slaves were released, mostly Spaniards, and a promise given to adhere strictly to the treaty made with Lord Exmouth in 1816 on that point.]

*SIR G. EYRE, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF ON THE  
SOUTH AMERICAN STATION, TO B. MARTIN.*

Rio Janeiro, Sept. 18th, 1824.

My dear Martin,—I have had your young friend Mr. Shortland to dine with me that we may be better acquainted, and very happy shall I be to do anything for him; but you have done very right in getting him on the Admiralty list, for, poor fellow, if he had only my vacancies to look forward to, his prospect would be dreary indeed. I have made one, by poor Sawyer's death, and that is all that is gone off from my list.

Your son's<sup>1</sup> conduct at Lima did him great credit, and cannot fail of being duly appreciated at home; his situation was very embarrassing for a young officer, requiring prudence, firmness, and judgment, all which he admirably displayed. I did

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, p. 76.



not get the account till, I dare say, long after it reached England. I have been trying very hard to get two or three small vessels attached to the station, but have had no success. They would be invaluable on many accounts, as the French and American commanders have long found, but would be infinitely more to us, who have resident merchants in so many ports, and from which a communication with me is so necessary, and yet so impracticable. We have no accounts from the Pacific since my last; you may perhaps at home, as Sir Murray<sup>1</sup> would forward anything important direct from Buenos Ayres. The Aurora was to leave Callao the end of June, so by the end of this month I shall begin to expect her. I suspect his freight will not be *enormous*, and he seems (I conclude from Captain Brown's orders not reaching him) to have missed a large sum that it was intended he should convey from St. Blas to Panama. The sad distracted state of Peru is much against our interest, as it is against the poor Peruvians, who seem to be sighing for tranquillity under whatever form of government they can get it. I believe they are heartily sick of republicanism, which has hitherto exhibited nothing to them but treachery and exactions, and kept the country in anarchy and poverty. Mr. Rowcroft had not been permitted to establish himself at Lima in a public capacity, but would not be objected to as a private individual. But, in the name of Heaven, what could the Secretary for Foreign Affairs be thinking of to send such a man? Maling's<sup>2</sup> temper, I am confident, had a severe trial on the passage out, and I could not but admire the forbearance and admirable conduct both of

<sup>1</sup> Sir Murray Maxwell, commanding H.M. frigate Briton, who commanded the Alceste in Lord Amherst's embassy to China, 1816.

<sup>2</sup> Captain Maling, commanding H.M.S. Cambridge, 78 guns.

Captain and Mrs. Maling. I dread every letter from the Pacific main—*nous verrons*.

Sir Murray is at last off, and I dare say began entirely to despair of ever doubling Cape Horn, but he will be in a very different situation from what he originally expected. I found Brown had just gone into the Pacific when I arrived, and as there were then as many of the large frigates on that side as were required or could be spared, he has been obliged to wait, notwithstanding the anxious desire I felt to promote his interests till a relief was necessary, and he now goes to replace the Aurora. Davis sailed from hence on the 28th ult. to relieve the Briton, not expecting he would be ordered home before the Aurora, and the Eclair is now gone to relieve the Doris, and to order her home straight from the River Plate. The Fly, my former letter would tell you, has orders to leave the Pacific, not later than December. I hope she will bring a tolerable sum; but the mines are not working freely, and I have desired my friends not to look out for so large an estate in England, as they seemed, on my first appointment, to think I should require. The new mast has arrived in perfect order, was landed on the 9th, and only now wants the trestle trees securing, and the side paunches (if that is the proper name) putting on to be complete. We had got a very nice place for it in the naval arsenal here, and had every assistance, civility, and attention which the Brazilian officers could show. Nothing can exceed Mr. Rice's<sup>1</sup> assiduity, anxiety, and, I may say, ability; for though the article was constructed and had been put together, yet his arrangement, forethought, and management bespeak a very superior young man, and I never saw one that

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Rice superintended the Arctic Expedition, fitting out in 1850, also others. and he was much appreciated by all.

seemed less aware of it ; in fact, he never appears to be thinking of himself, but merely the best way of doing what he has to do, and he has met with a very good coadjutor in the carpenter of the Spartiate. I hope to send Mr. Rice and the parts of the old mast which are to go home by the Aurora, as I conclude she will be the next ship to go. A thousand thanks for all the kind things you are good enough to say of my *ci-devant* sailor ; no parent indeed, I believe, ever had two better disposed sons than I have, and for which I feel most truly grateful, as I do for the six little loves I left at Brussels, not one of whom I could wish different from what they are. But this is a subject I must not get upon. I have never regretted for a moment the not bringing back George into the profession, although he would now have been a lieutenant, and in the common course of events a commander when my career here is finished—that is, if he had lived—but the heat we suffered last summer would have annihilated him, and the comfort he is to his mother is beyond calculation. My young soldier has joined his regiment, and is indeed everything I could wish, and he has been particularly fortunate in getting amongst a very gentlemanlike and steady set of officers, and having at their head one (Colonel Napier) who is looked up to as an excellent officer, and also with almost parental affection.

Ever yours most sincerely,  
GEORGE EYRE.

SIR H. NEALE TO B. MARTIN.

[Malta,] Decer. 1, 1824.

My dear Martin,—I have been induced in consequence of the assertion made by Mr. Croker,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty.





in the presence as I understand of Hope,<sup>1</sup> and in the hearing of my nephew<sup>2</sup> also, and with which you are acquainted, to write a letter of explanation to the Board. I have also addressed some further particulars to Lord Melville, that I think will have the effect of satisfying Lord Bathurst that I acted for the best. I feel that I have been forced to this explanation, not only from what Mr. Croker advanced—and which I think I have refuted—but from the circumstances of the Board withholding my dispatch from the public, and writing to me in five lines an acknowledgment of its receipt. If the Board, or Lord Bathurst,<sup>3</sup> felt that I ought to have landed the Consul regardless of Captain Spencer's<sup>4</sup> report, I think they should have said so, and have given me the opportunity of further explanations, which I could not in anticipation load my dispatch with. If they felt, in common with myself, that they should have preferred the Consul being landed, but that under existing circumstances it was better not to risk it, they should candidly so have expressed themselves. I very much wish that through Lord Melville or Hope that you may be enabled to read my letter, which is unavoidably at great length, but places the state of things in their actual position. If you cannot get it to read, I will send you a copy. Many thanks for your cheese which I shall produce on Christmas Day, and drink all your healths in a bumper, tho' this is considered rather a vulgar taste amongst the refined Neapolitans, but probably arising out of the bad taste of their wines. I have only heard from yourself and Hotham of my

<sup>1</sup> Admiral Sir W. Hope, a Lord of the Admiralty.

<sup>2</sup> Commander Rooke, lately Neale's flag-lieutenant.

<sup>3</sup> Lord Bathurst, being Secretary for War and Colonies, was probably acting as Foreign Minister.

<sup>4</sup> Captain Robert Cavendish Spencer, elder brother of Frederick, fourth Earl Spencer ; he died unmarried, 1830.

nephew's promotion, but I suppose his commission is sent by the November mail to Malta, though by Marseille I should have received it some days since. I think now of taking your son into the *Revenge*. I shall however talk with him upon the subject when I meet the *Sybille* and let you know the result. His time of servitude is drawing to a close, and the *Sybille* will have a spell in harbour as well as the *Revenge*, but when the winter is over I purpose visiting every port of my station. Remember me most kindly to Lady Martin, and my young friends, not omitting little chatterbox.

Believe me, my dear Martin,

Most truly yours,

H. NEALE.

Naples, Dec. 1st.

*ADMIRAL SIR H. B. NEALE TO B. MARTIN.*

Malta, Jan. 31st [1825].

My dear Martin,—You will have learnt, first from Fanshawe, and secondly from myself by the post from Naples, of the illness of Henry.<sup>1</sup> He is now in a state of amendment, his pulse is natural, and his appetite improved ; he has of late been taking a decoction of bark, which has agreed with him, and his fever has been totally arrested for nearly two days. It seems that debility is to be attended to at present, and as he has for some days past evidently acquired strength, and takes as much chicken and beef broth as well as arrowroot and other nourishing things as the medical persons desire, I hope and believe that when I write again I shall be enabled to give you a still better account. The medical

<sup>1</sup> Henry Byam Martin, afterwards Admiral, then a lieutenant in H.M.S. *Sybille*, Captain Pechell.

people have not thought it safe to move him as yet to my house, where I have a large room ready for him; but whenever it can be done without risk it shall be effected; in the meantime he has rooms in the town at the same hotel where Captain Pechell<sup>1</sup> lived and where he placed him. I see him frequently, and the surgeon's assistant of the *Sybill* is left behind to sleep in an adjoining room, and to give him all that is requisite. I thought it proper to give an order for sick quarters. He could not be moved, and my doing so insures good medicines, which is very material. He is now more cheerful and feels himself better. He has no headache or any uneasy sensations. He slept the whole of last night, and, what is a favourable symptom, his tongue has been gradually getting less foul, and is now quite clean. I wrote thus far yesterday, and I have kept my letter open to give you the latest account. Henry slept well last night, and has taken his chicken broth twice during the forenoon. I am very anxious about him, and feel happy that I arrived at Malta when I did. My being here is a relief to him as well as Fanshawe. Lady Neale and Mademoiselle Reboul will attend him well when it is judged proper to move him to our house, but his illness has been long, but I hope and trust we are now going on well. We all here desire our very best and sincere regards to you all.

Believe me, my dear Martin,

Most truly yours,

H. NEALE.

Vice-Admiral Sir Byam Martin, K.C.B., Somerset House.

Malta, February 1.

<sup>1</sup> Captain, afterwards Admiral, Sir Samuel J. B. Pechell, Bart., C.B. and K.C.H., at this time captain of the *Sybill*; and afterwards, for many years, one of the Lords of the Admiralty. He took great interest in naval gunnery and improved it materially.



SIR H. NEALE TO B. MARTIN.

March 2nd, 1825.

My dear Martin,—I am happy to inform you that Henry's amendment has been most satisfactory. He is daily increasing in strength, and his usual good looks announce everything to be very favourable. He walks about the streets at pleasure, and is only cautioned not to be too bold; upon this subject I give him a daily lecture of about two minutes just to keep him upon his guard. I shall keep him, however, with me until I leave Malta, as by so doing I can look better after him, and I think it will otherwise be better for him.

I have received by the last mail a letter from Lord Melville upon the subject of my letter of explanation. There is an evident want of candour, which I should not have attributed to his lordship, but I think the whole proceeds from the talk of Mr. Croker, and Captain Rooke is strangely made to bear the sins of this latter gentleman, and most unreasonably so. Lord Melville has reasoned entirely on error; Captain Rooke never stated that Mr. Croker spoke officially; nor did I in my letter of explanation represent Mr. Croker as having done so, but that I considered him as conveying the sentiments of the Admiralty and H.M. Government by the expressions he applied to my services, on the official attendance of Captain Rooke at the Admiralty. In point of fact those expressions proceeding from Mr. Croker were too serious to be allowed to pass without a representation from myself to the Board, for my present and future protection. One word from Lord Bathurst to have acquitted me of blame was all I looked for, or expected, but the withholding all mention of the service beyond 'We

have recd. your letter,' is a species of discontent not flattering, and which ought to have been manfully expressed. I could then have entered into a fuller justification than I have done, to prove that my judgment was probably correct. I could have stated more respecting the late consul than was necessary in the shape of an explanation for me to do, but which I would rather avoid doing. I send you confidentially a copy of my letter in answer to Lord Melville's,<sup>1</sup> from which you will understand how he has taken up the question. I am not without a feeling that I should have requested his lordship to lay my letter before the Board, because his lordship has now involved Captain Rooke; and setting aside his relationship to me, I do not think that I can consistently let him innocently suffer—for whether as an officer, or a relation, he was right to inform me of what Mr. Croker said. Had he represented Mr. Croker as speaking officially it would not have been surprising, considering the place and the occasion; but he did not do this, and I have no doubt but that he told me all that he understood to have been said, but which at all events if omitted (as Lord Melville states) was of no consequence, for I never reverted to that part of Mr. Croker's expressions, because it cast no immediate reflection upon me, but was merely as to what other people might think, and upon which Sir William Hope differed. I write openly to you upon this subject, because I know I can do so. I do regret exceedingly any necessity for the correspondence I am engaged in. I have obligations to Lord Melville, but independently of which, it is quite contrary to my principles to act otherwise than in the utmost confidence and harmony, and to fulfil every desire and

<sup>1</sup> Not found amongst papers.

expectation of those under whose directions I am serving. Mr. Croker should not have expressed himself as he did upon the attendance of Captain Rooke. Had he written or said the same thing to me I should not have thought anything of it, but have individually explained to him in what I thought he misjudged; at the same time I am perfectly aware that in the exercise of my judgment I am liable to error, and have therefore only looked for a manly and dignified conduct on the part of Lord Bathurst to pronounce an opinion, and not to withhold his apparently real opinion, because if pronounced he could not support it. Remember me most kindly to Lady Martin and your amiable daughters, and believe me, my dear Martin,

Most truly yours,

H. NEALE.

Malta, March 2nd [1825].

*SIR H. TAYLOR TO B. MARTIN.*

Cadogan Place, April 5, 1825.

My dear Sir Byam,—I will write to Sir Manley Power respecting six months' leave for your son and acquaint him that I am quite agreeable, but it rests with him and Lord Hastings.<sup>1</sup> I shall, however, put it upon the dépôt system, which will require some of the ensigns to be at home, as the junior had better join at head-quarters.

I am, my dear Sir Byam,

Most sincerely yours,

H. TAYLOR.

I am laid up with gout.

Vice-Adl. Sir T. Byam Martin, K.C.B.

<sup>1</sup> The Governor of Malta.



SIR H. NEALE TO B. MARTIN.

Malta, August 6 [1825].

My dear Martin,—It gave me great pleasure to meet my friend Henry<sup>1</sup> again at Malta in perfect health and good looks, but as I am at present in the enjoyment of all the delights of a thirty days' quarantine we have only seen each other at a distance. He has got his brig ready for sea with great expedition after the bright example of his papa, for which, and in order to give him every encouragement to persevere in such a meritorious course, I have rewarded him with the charge of a convoy up the Levant,<sup>2</sup> after which he will follow the orders of Captain Hamilton, who is a steady officer and actively employed. I purpose proceeding up the Archipelago immediately to revisit Smyrna and learn what is going forward in the Turkish dominions; my continuance there will much depend on circumstances, but I am not aware of any great utility resulting from any long *séjour* in that sea. I am however anxious to get there as early as possible, and shall leave a tender here to bring my dispatches by the next mail to meet me at Smyrna, as my term in the Mediterranean is drawing towards its close. Pray let me know if there is anything I can bring from hence for you. I shall stop a day at Cadiz on my return. When I wrote to you respecting the season for my return being better either in the autumn or spring, I was much referring to the change of climate, and not to any particular desire of my own; of course in a winter season the crew

<sup>1</sup> Sir Byam's youngest son, then commander of H.M. brig Parthian.

<sup>2</sup> Convoy being necessary at that time owing to the prevalency of piracy there.

must be entirely new clothed with warm things. Lady Neale will probably return under any circumstances by land from Marseilles and will not move northward until the severity of the winter is past. I have therefore really no wish upon the subject, except that should my continuance beyond the limited period be convenient to my successor (which is scarcely probable), I shall then very willingly remain. It will possibly be better, with such a feeling as I have expressed, not to say a word upon the subject but to let things take their course in the ordinary way, as being less embarrassing to all parties. I will tell you precisely how I am circumstanced with respect to my nomination for a lieutenant's commission on striking my flag, and also with respect to the filling up of a death vacancy that has occurred in the *Sybil* by the death of Lieutenant Tupper. I have a nephew mid., son of Mrs. Rooke, who embarked on board the *Cambrian* the first time she was ordered upon this station, in order to join Sir Graham Moore,<sup>1</sup> to whom I had written to receive him on board the *Rochfort*. Unfortunately he was not borne as a supernumerary on board the *Cambrian* during her passage out, and therefore his name does not appear, altho' he was actually on board and did duty. But what is still more unfortunate, after the ship arrived in the Mediterranean she proceeded to the Dardanelles without first communicating with Sir G. Moore, and thus three months more elapsed before he could join the *Rochfort* and be entered on her books. Under such an unforeseen occurrence, as he was actually on board the ship and the greater part of the time in the Mediterranean doing his duty, do you think it possible that the Board of

<sup>1</sup> Admiral Sir G. Moore, his predecessor.

Admiralty, on the certificate of Captain Hamilton,<sup>1</sup> would be induced to allow the time he has thus lost, either from his appearance on board the *Cambrian* at Spithead, or else from the ship's arrival in the Mediterranean, when his not joining the *Rochfort* was no fault of his? I will thank you to take out his time for me on board the *Rochfort* and *Revenge* (he has been always lent to the *Cambrian*) and send it me by the next mail, but I apprehend his time, with the loss I have above stated, will not be complete before April 1827. If it is allowed on Captain Hamilton's and my application, I think it will be complete in October next. But supposing that the time in question is not allowed, I shall then have to request of Lord Melville to permit my nomination to stand over until he has served his time, that I may give him the advantage of it. With respect to the present death vacancy on board the *Sybille*, I had written some time since to my brother, who was particularly anxious as well as myself to serve Captain Love, an old commander of 20 years' standing, to send his son to me as expeditiously as possible. Having learnt through another channel that this young man had sailed for the East Indies, I wrote to Lord Melville by the last mail to request that Mr. Geo. Love might have the advantage of this vacancy, but, as he was in another part of the world, I expressed a hope that the Board would give him the appointment to the *Sybille*, or else that Lord Melville would appoint Mr. Love lieutenant for rank only, and give me the name of any other person for promotion to this

<sup>1</sup> Commanding the *Cambrian*, 36-gun frigate. He rendered great service to the Greek cause in the War of Independence. When a midshipman I was told by Sir Ed. Lyons, then our Minister at Athens, if I was related to him—which I was not—my name would carry me through Greece. He was also actively engaged in suppression of piracy in the Levant.



vacancy that he might wish to advance. Since writing to this effect I am placed in a great dilemma. I have received a letter from my brother, who learns from Captain Love that his son is upon Lord Melville's list for promotion in the East Indies. Had I known of this circumstance I should not have applied for him, and yet I fear it is possible that Lord Melville may not recollect this circumstance, and have filled up the vacancy in the Sybille; on the other hand, having written to Lord Melville to the above effect I cannot now fill up the vacancy with any other person, and my anxious wish is that young Glanville<sup>1</sup> should have the advantage of it, if it is possible to make the arrangement, but his time is not complete. You may make use of my name in any way, and if it is not too late to cancel any commission that may be filled up, but not sent, pray request for me that it may be done, provided that Glanville can ultimately be promoted to this nomination. The Sybille is ordered home immediately, and will be in England before I can hear from you, or from Lord Melville to my first request.

Remember me, Lady Neale and Mlle. Reboul, with our kindest regards, to Lady Martin and our young friends.

Believe me, my dear Martin,

Very sincerely and truly yours,

H. NEALE.

Revenge, Malta : August 6th.

Henry will sail to-morrow. Fanshawe is very well.

[The present system of promotion is very much fairer, being entirely in the hands of the Admiralty. This letter shows that promotion was mainly an

<sup>1</sup> B. Martin's nephew, who died when on the flag list.

aristocratic political job, as it will in future be a democratic. I have heard it asserted of the first Lord Lyons that he looked on death vacancies to keep up his political influence, and to the Admiralty to reward service claims.]

*LORD HIGH ADMIRAL TO B. MARTIN.*

Admiralty: March 15th, 1826.

Dear Sir,—I will not venture an opinion on the enclosed letter from Sir Charles Knowles. Still however I submit the matter is worthy of consideration.

I remain yours sincerely,

WILLIAM.

*Endorsed by B. Martin:* 'About junk beds for Mortars.' D. of Clarence, 1826.<sup>1</sup>

*SIR H. TAYLOR TO B. MARTIN.*

S. A. St., June 19, 1826.

My dear Sir Byam,—A thousand thanks for your kind offer, but I have no occasion to trouble Captain Martin with anything for Malta, having sent all my letters by packet.

H.R.H. has forwarded your letter about Major Brown to the King, and at once admitted the propriety of your communication.

*Private.*—I wish Captain Martin could persuade either Capt. Connor or Capt. Hurst to exchange with his brother, though I do not know whether your partiality for the 85th would go so far as to induce you to pay the difference, 511*l*., without which I see

<sup>1</sup> This and other letters from the Duke of Clarence were in his own handwriting.

no chance of such exchange, and hitherto neither C. nor H. have expressed any desire to take it.

Ever yours very truly,  
H. TAYLOR.

*SIR H. TAYLOR TO B. MARTIN.*

Horse Guards, 26 June, 1826.

My dear Sir Byam,—I am sorry that I should have omitted to acquaint you what had been done in consequence of your official letter in behalf of Major Brown of the 36th Regiment ; but I now inclose to you a copy<sup>1</sup> of the General Order which has this day been circulated to the army in consequence of your intercession, and a communication has been made to that effect to the Board in answer to their official letter.

I remain, my dear Sir Byam,  
Yours very faithfully,  
H. TAYLOR.

V.-Admiral Sir Byam Martin, K.C.B.

*B. MARTIN ON A CABINET MEETING ON OUR  
NAVAL ARMAMENT.*

Saturday, July 29th, 1826.

I was summoned to attend a Cabinet Council this day and found the following Ministers assembled: Lord Liverpool, Lord Chancellor Eldon—Duke of Wellington, Sir R. Peel, Lord Bexley, Mr. Canning—Lord Melville, Mr. Huskisson, and others.

Lord Liverpool put many questions to me, amongst others whether I thought our three-deckers equal to the Ohio, the large American ship with guns

<sup>1</sup> Not found—or any trace of this measure.



on spar-deck. I answered that they were, and particularly those of the large class. I explained that the third deck gives shelter to the men at their quarters from the inconvenience of the rigging when shot away falling upon their heads, and the fire from the three decks being so concentrated; besides which the guns on the quarter-deck, fore-castle, and poop made them equal to a fourth deck; besides the loftiness of the first-rate when alongside the other. That the arming proposed for our new first-rates are all heavy guns, whereas the Americans have the light or medium guns on the main-deck and spar-deck.

A member of the Council asked why I spoke particularly of our large class such as the *Caledonia* and excepted the *Boyne* and ships of that size. I explained the heavier arming of the former. Lord Liverpool said, Do you think the *Boyne* class fit to cope with the large American two-decked ships? I answered that, although the *Caledonia* was heavier armed, I should have no doubt of the favourable result of an action between the *Boyne* and an American two-decker, but that I thought it right to make the Council aware of the difference, and that it was proposed hereafter to build all first-rates with still greater capacity than the *Caledonia*.

After much conversation, in which I entered fully into explanation of the large class of two-deckers (three in number) which we proposed to build, and the means of increasing our large first-rates so as to give them as I had proposed in a paper, and showed the day preceding to Lord M[elville] (25th July), Lord Liverpool asked how long it would take to build them. I replied 5 years if due attention was to be paid to seasoning.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wooden ships were frequently ten years building, by portions, to give time for seasoning the timber, consequently the old

## SIR H. TAYLOR TO B. MARTIN.

[Private.]

Horse Guards, October 16, 1826.

My dear Sir Byam,—I inclose a copy of the intended circular instructions to officers in command at the usual ports of embarkation, and then convoy on foreign stations, which I hope you will approve, and I trust the steps we have taken will have a salutary effect towards maintaining in transports the harmony which happily prevails between the departments, and which I think we are agreed is not likely to be interrupted.

I cannot make out any vacancy in the 52nd, but I think I shall be able to make out something also for your son in Canada shortly. I have H.R.H.'s instructions to do so.

Ever yours truly,

H. TAYLOR.

Vice-Admiral Sir Thomas Byam Martin, K.C.B.

## SIR H. TAYLOR TO B. MARTIN.

Horse Guards, Nov. 13, 1826.

My dear Sir Byam,—I have not failed to communicate your letter of the 10th to the Commander-in-Chief, who requests you will be assured that he has felt great pleasure in being able to contribute in any degree to the satisfaction of an individual for whose professional and private character he entertains so sincere a regard, and he

ships lasted many years. When it became necessary to build screw wooden ships, having let the navy get behindhand comparatively with other nations, unseasoned timber had to be used and the ships built hurriedly. The Lord Clyde, ironclad, was built in ten months and had only one commission at sea due to an extraordinary growth of fungus, owing to unseasoned timber.

rejoices that the opportunity offered of bringing your son Captain Martin so eligibly on full pay.

As the humble agent of H.R.H. I have always felt that no person has better claims than yourself to the attention and gratitude of the military departments, which have invariably experienced from you such zealous and liberal aid and co-operation.

Believe me to be, my dear Sir Byam,  
Most truly yours,  
H. TAYLOR.

*THE LORD HIGH ADMIRAL TO B. MARTIN.*

[*Private.*]

Bushey House : April 29th, 1827.

Dear Sir,—I think it important for you to keep the enclosed.<sup>1</sup>

As I intend visiting the Western Yards with his Majesty's permission this summer in the Royal Sovereign yacht I wish you to have made three regular flags for the Lord High Admiral to hoist : A foul weather one ; another of a larger size ; and the third the regular large flag as Admirals hoist. Also one to be carried in the boat.

Ever yours,  
WILLIAM.

*LORD HIGH ADMIRAL TO B. MARTIN.*

Bushey House : Augt. 31st, 1827.

Dear Sir,—I have of course read with the greatest attention your remarks contained in the

<sup>1</sup> The Duke of Clarence was prohibited, by the terms of his patent as Lord High Admiral, from assuming military command ; his wish to hoist his flag was, therefore, at once contested by Sir George Cockburn, the senior member of his Council ; and his actually hoisting it in the following year brought him a severe rebuke from the King and the Duke of Wellington, then Prime Minister, which virtually compelled him to resign the office.



paper you gave me yesterday. In consequence I must make three remarks. The first is, I agree with you in postponing the rebuilding the Mast Houses at Portsmouth till the expense at Sheerness is over. The second is that we have, exclusive of the ships of the line now in commission, fifty-eight in good condition and fourteen in process of building. But the third is what alarms me, and on which I must have a serious conversation with you. I mean the state of the stores. Six months' hemp yarn and cordage, eight months' canvas, and nine months' copper, in war I cannot consider enough. Most undoubtedly when the Estimates for 1828 are to be considered this state of all the naval stores except timber must be most seriously considered. I really think there ought to be at least an entire year's consumption of every sort of naval store for service constantly in our different arsenals.

I remain yours sincerely,

WILLIAM.

*ADMIRAL SIR A. S. HAMOND<sup>1</sup> TO B. MARTIN.*

Hamond Lodge, Lynn, 6th May, 1828.

My dear Sir,—I beg leave to congratulate you on the appointment of your son<sup>2</sup> to the command of the Samarang frigate at Woolwich; and if you will do me the favour to request that he will take a youngster under his protection, at my recommendation, I shall consider myself much obliged to him. The boy is the son of a particular friend of mine, in this country, who—the boy—is quite devoted to the navy, is well grown and educated,

<sup>1</sup> Sir A. S. Hammond had been Comptroller of the Navy from 1794 to 1806. He was 91 years of age at this time.

<sup>2</sup> The late Sir W. F. Martin, Bart., G.C.B.

and is between fourteen and fifteen years of age, and whose name is Walter Blencowe.

I hope you continue to enjoy good health, and with my best regards, I remain as ever, with great regards, very sincerely yours,

ANDW. S. HAMOND.

*H.R.H. DUKE OF CLARENCE, LORD HIGH  
ADMIRAL, TO B. MARTIN.*

Bushey House : June 7th, 1830.

Dear Sir,—I wish the case of James Lock, who says he was in the Prince George<sup>1</sup> during the American War, may be enquired into.

Ever believe me yours truly,

WILLIAM.

*B. MARTIN TO SIR HERBERT TAYLOR, PRIVATE  
SECRETARY TO WILLIAM IV.*

July 17th [1831.]

My dear Sir Herbert,—I am full of worry and perplexity in consequence of two visits I have had from the London Bridge Committee, accompanied on the last occasion by the Lord Mayor.

They wish that I should undertake the onerous duty of preserving regularity and order afloat when the King goes down the river on the 1st of August, but it is obvious that no one can take such a charge with any chance of enforcing order but the civil magistrate, who by law is invested with power to act in his magisterial capacity on the Thames as

<sup>1</sup> In which ship the Duke was serving as Prince William Henry in the action with the Spanish fleet under Langara, when Rodney was on his way to relieve Gibraltar, January 1780. There are other letters showing that he was always alive to claims of old shipmates.

well as in the City. I mean the Lord Mayor. It is true, however, as you will perhaps hear from the Committee, that the Lord Mayor presented a Parliamentary deed delegating to me all his power and authority afloat, which I returned, feeling that I was not at liberty to take upon myself such a charge direct from his lordship, and not without some doubt in my own mind whether the credit of the public service might not be compromised by an admiral being found pretty much in the situation of the Lord Mayor's water bailiff.

The gentlemen of the Committee seem to be under an impression that his Majesty had been pleased to signify to me his pleasure that I should undertake the arrangement of everything afloat. I believe nothing of the kind passed, but that I was to see the boats in readiness for his Majesty and give any assistance in my own power, and (as I told them) I should have thought myself presuming if I ventured to do more.

The Committee will, I am sure, do me the justice to say that there has been every assistance and facility given them from the dockyards, and I have assured them that I consider it my duty, and it will be a great delight to me to do whatever may tend to make things work smoothly and pleasantly ; and if my advice is worth having, they need only apply to me ; but I must ask your good offices in standing between me and the responsible duty which the Lord Mayor wishes to transfer from his shoulders to mine ; and I am sure you will kindly take<sup>1</sup> me to prevent any inference being drawn from what has passed which can for a moment give an appearance of unwillingness on my part to do anything and everything that can be desired, and above all

<sup>1</sup> *Sic* in copy, evidently taken hurriedly—probably help was meant.



to act in dutiful submission to his Majesty's will and pleasure.

P.S.—Reflecting upon these matters, and fearing any misconception of my motive, I have called in at the U.S. Club to write this note.

[This letter is with reference to William IV. opening the present London Bridge, August 1, 1831, which was done with great pomp and ceremony. The King and Queen embarked at Somerset House and proceeded to London Bridge by the river, and returned by the same route, and by Taylor's letter of May 1, 1832, it is evident B. Martin had charge of keeping the way clear.]

*SIR HERBERT TAYLOR TO B. MARTIN.*

Windsor Castle, March 26, 1832.

My dear Sir Byam,—I did not delay laying before the King your letter of the 20th inst. and the inclosure, which I return, and I regret that pressure of other business prevented my replying immediately to it. His Majesty has ordered me to acquaint you that it is his intention to place the Royal Arms, which fronted the quarter-deck of the Victory in the Battle of Trafalgar, in Windsor Castle, where he has already placed a piece of its main mast, and his Majesty will be obliged to you to answer Mr. Edward's letter to that effect, and to convey to him his Majesty's instructions that the said arms may be sent here carefully cased and addressed to Jeffery Wyatville.

The King is quite well and desires his regards to you.

Believe me to be, my dear Sir Byam,

Yours very faithfully,

H. TAYLOR.

## GENERAL SIR H. TAYLOR TO BYAM MARTIN.

Windsor Castle, May 1, 1832.

My dear Sir Byam,—I have been honoured with the King's commands to send you a painting of the opening of London Bridge by Chambers, and to desire that you will receive it as a mark of his Majesty's sincere regard for you, and a testimonial of the satisfaction he derived from your able and excellent superintendence of the arrangements for that ceremony and of his sense of your zealous exertions to promote its success.<sup>1</sup>

I remain ever with great regard,

My dear Sir Byam,

Most sincerely yours,

H. TAYLOR.

## ADMIRAL SIR H. B. NEALE TO B. MARTIN.

October 30th, 1832.

My dear Martin,—I will not let the post depart without a few lines. I perfectly agree with you that reserve is essential to defeat the object of those who would convert what appertains to you into a party question, which, when once accomplished, it is well known that the shoulders of an administration can carry off a great load of obloquy, particularly at such a period of general excitement as the present, without the least inconvenience or concern to themselves.

It is an unjustifiable proceeding, after having, as you fairly state, permitted you to remain in office during the whole progress of the Bill, now to signify that your services are no longer required. This is the act of an enraged administration, giving vent to angry feelings which it would have been more honourable never to have displayed. There is one

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ante*, p. 102.

point which I cannot resist pressing you most earnestly upon, and that is relative to the possibility of a baronetage being offered to you. Were such a distinction, however small it is, to be offered, I must conjure you not to reject the offer. It is too natural for you to feel indignant at the past, and under that feeling to be much influenced. I maintain the ground I stand upon in urging the advice I give ; that it would not be a favour conferred upon you by any administration more than it was upon your numerous predecessors in office, who successfully obtained that mark of recompense for their services, and as having for some years at least filled that important station, which you have so undeniably filled with great advantage to the service, and with great credit to yourself for a longer period than almost any other comptroller ; certainly for a longer period than any comptroller since the period of our having a large navy, and a consequent great accumulation of labour. It is therefore a kind of acquired right, which cannot be withheld but by an act of injustice : and what is your right you ought not to refuse. I the more urge this because it is of some importance to those of your family who come after you ; you have done for your posterity what your father did before you, and what will be of some advantage to them. Now, my good friend, think seriously of all this, and do not reject the offer, should it be made ; remembering that, after all, it is granted by the King, and can only be recommended by ministers upon public grounds, and is no favour of a personal nature. My kind regards attend you all.

Yours, my dear Martin,

Most truly,

H. NEALE.

Walhampton, Oct. 30th 1832.



## MISS HAWKEY TO B. MARTIN.

Miss Hawkey presents her most respectful compliments to Sir Byam Martin, and in reply to the inquiry with which he has honoured her is very sorry to inform him that after a careful perusal of all the letters written by her late brother, Lieut. Joseph Hawkey,<sup>1</sup> to his family, which have come into her possession, she has been unable to discover any reference to the service mentioned by Sir Byam Martin; she is apprehensive, therefore, that her brother's letters of that period may have been lost [1809].

Miss Hawkey has found some letters from Mr. Glanville to her father, copies of which she has enclosed in the hope that the particulars mentioned in them may refer to the period when her brother had the honour of serving under Sir Byam Martin's orders at Dantzic. She begs permission to add that while copying such high testimonials to her brother's character, grief for his loss has been accompanied by the most sincere gratitude for the great kindness which for his sake Sir Byam Martin has extended to her.

Liskeard, November 27th, 1832.

*Enclosures.*

Catchfrench, July 22nd, 1809.

Dear Sir,—You have no doubt heard from Joseph some particulars of his narrow escape from captivity in the Baltic, but you cannot have heard the handsome things Captain Martin says of him, and therefore I send you extracts of his letters to Mrs. Martin which she communicated to me. You will understand that he was employed by Captain

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ante*, vol. ii. pp. 92-7, 121, 126-9.

Martin to endeavour to carry despatches to, and to open a communication with, an Austrian general, who was at the time expected with an army on the coast of Swedish Pomerania.

*Extracts.*

'*May 26th.*—I have written to the General-in-Chief by Mr. Hawkey, my Prime Minister, making a tender of the Implacable's boats for the transport of troops or anything the ship can afford.

'*May 27th.*—Poor Hawkey is a prisoner to the French, as well as a seaman of the ship, a Swede, Gronberg by name. The zeal and enterprise of this excellent young man made him unmindful of my strict charge that he was not to land unless the master of a merchant ship, to which I sent him, lying at the mouth of the river, could point out the actual place where the Austrians lay; but, so far from being able to do so, the man assured him they were not arrived. If the list of the navy was put into my hands I think it impossible I could find so good an officer as this unlucky young man.

'*May 28th.*—You will be delighted to hear that Mr. Hawkey has found his way back to the ship after the most hazardous and ridiculous adventures it is possible to conceive, and it is unaccountable how he has at last effected his escape, for a French officer who came to me yesterday with a flag of truce said they had parties looking for him in every direction. He reached the ship about twelve last night, being pursued even to the last so closely that the boat which followed him came within a quarter of a mile of us. It seems he was taken up four times, and was extricated from his greatest difficulty by the compassionate help of an old lady.'

Such testimonials of the superior character of

your son must be highly gratifying to you, and I heartily congratulate you upon them. I remain,

Dear Sir, yours very faithfully,

FRAS. GLANVILLE.

*No. 2.*

Catchfrench, August 16th, 1809.

Dear Sir,—I send you an extract from Captain Martin's letter to Mr. Fanshawe, which, though it cannot but increase your grief and regret for the loss of such a son as poor Joseph, must at the same time be highly gratifying to your feelings, and convey all the consolation to your mind of which it can insuch a case be susceptible.

*Extract.*

Implacable, Gulf of Finland, July 10th, 1809.

'You will believe I feel most sensibly the loss of that poor young man Hawkey, who was killed on the 8th instant, when commanding the boats of the squadron in an attack upon a division of the Russian flotilla and a convoy under their protection; his conduct was great and glorious beyond all description, and is the theme of universal admiration. Such coolness, such judgment, and such intrepidity are rarely combined, and would have distinguished him greatly in the Service had his life been spared. He had carried one gunboat and was in the act of boarding a second, when a musket or grape shot went through his body and he died almost immediately.'



*OFFER MADE TO ME OF THE MEDITERRANEAN  
COMMAND.*

MEMORANDUM.

May 2nd, 1833.

A note reached me to-day about half-past two o'clock while I was driving down Regent Street. The messenger knowing the carriage stopped it, and handed in a note in which Sir James Graham expressed a wish to see me at the Admiralty as soon as possible. I proceeded without delay, and was at once ushered into the First Lord's room. Sir James said he had to make me a delicate and important proposal. 'You have,' said he, 'no doubt heard of the death of Sir Henry Hotham.<sup>1</sup> The Government is of opinion that the moral effect of sending out an officer of the highest rank (flag at the main), of known professional merit (with other soft words), and one in whose judgment they can rely, will be of the greatest importance to the interests of the country. It is the opinion of the Cabinet ministers that you are the most fit person for such a trust. Lord Grey has himself looked over the list and agrees with me that you are the most proper person for such a command. Lord Grey, with myself, therefore submitted your name to the King, and his Majesty expressed his sanction and gracious approval of your being offered the command.'

Sir James proceeded to describe the embarrassing and peculiar state of affairs in the East,

<sup>1</sup> Vice-Admiral Sir H. Hotham, a distinguished officer, and a most fortunate one; he was born in July 1777, made a commander in 1794; a captain, January 1795, and a rear-admiral, in July 1814. Even quicker promotion than Nelson—owing to his being nephew to Lord Hotham, Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean; justified however by result.

observing that France and Russia had strong squadrons in the neighbourhood of Constantinople ; that, instead of acting in concert as heretofore, they were now at cross purposes ; and in that disagreeable state of irritation the fleets were separated only by the Hellespont ; that the interference of England with the Pasha of Egypt had as yet been without effect, and the Egyptians have also a fleet at sea. ' The naval Commander-in-Chief will therefore have a most delicate and arduous duty to discharge, and it is this which the Government desire to confide to you. I and my colleagues,' said Sir James Graham, ' are fully aware of your decided political opposition, and I admit that unfortunately a misunderstanding has existed personally between us ; if, however, you accept the command, every feeling on our part, of a political nature, will cease, and the Government are prepared to give you their entire confidence. On the other hand, we expect from you as entire and willing an obliteration of political feelings, and a cheerful co-operation in the views and wishes of the Government.' This was all right as far as words could go.

I replied that I would at once state the grounds upon which I was desirous to decline the offer, and if my objection was considered reasonable, and I was allowed a choice, I should, in that case, not feel myself at liberty to enter upon any consideration of the points which occurred to me for discussion with reference to what he had said of the state of affairs in the Mediterranean. I then told him that Lady Martin's state of health was such that I could not feel myself warranted in leaving her during a period of peace ; that she had been out that day for the first time in four months ; that I could not leave her with propriety, or with any feeling of satisfaction to my own mind. In time of peace, I said, it might

be allowed to me to give such feelings their due influence ; but in war it would be my bounden duty to suppress them, and go wherever my services might be required. I proceeded to say that if I did accept the command I should do so with a sincere abandonment of every political feeling, and faithfully discharge my duty, untainted by party spirit, and without reference to any other consideration than that which is due to the public service. That I should act in cordial compliance, not only with the instructions, but the wishes of the Government, and should consider myself unworthy of the rank I held if I could entertain any other sentiment. I remarked that the Government, in selecting an officer for so delicate and important a command, ought not only to look for one to whom they could give their confidence in the common acceptation of the word, but one with whom they could enter into that intimate communication so necessary in conducting affairs of an intricate nature, and involving questions upon the judicious management of which the awful responsibility of a general war would rest. I told Sir James I could not expect such intimacy between the Government and myself after all that had passed upon a former occasion.

Sir James Graham said, ' If you accept the command, there will be no half confidence, it will be entire ; and on my part,' he added, ' I can truly say I shall forget everything connected with our former difference. As Lady Martin's health is in so delicate a state, the climate may be of great service to her ; but, in suggesting this, I must observe that, if you take her out, it must be clearly understood that she does not proceed with you further than Malta.'

I replied, ' Certainly : no one has stronger opinions than I have upon such points ; but I have reason



to know that the climate would be likely to prove unfriendly to her case. Unless I am called upon in so imperative a manner as to forbid a choice, I must persist in my wish to decline the command.'

Sir James said, 'I think you are at perfect liberty to act according to your own feelings without any discredit to your professional character.'

I thanked him for the frankness with which he had made the offer, the candour with which he received my refusal, and for the expressions of personal civility and compliment he had been pleased to bestow upon me.

He was glad, he said, to set himself right with me, as far as related to himself.

To this I made no reply, but bowed and took my leave.

I never blamed the Government for turning me out of office ; they did what was perfectly right, and precisely what I would have done to any individual in my situation, had I been a member of the Cabinet.

*Memorandum in Sir B. Martin's writing.*

[*Private and Confidential.*]

May 3rd, 1833.

With reference to the statement of what passed this afternoon with Sir J. Graham respecting the Mediterranean command: I certainly have long felt, and must ever feel, a great mistrust in the present Government, and more particularly Sir J. Graham, of whose insincerity I possess such proofs as to startle me at the idea of ever again risking my character in any degree in his hands ; and although it is difficult, when a civil and flattering proposal is made, to say a rude thing, yet I cannot conceal the fact that this flashed across my mind instantly on receiving a summons to the Admiralty, and it is

satisfactory to me to escape from so irksome and embarrassing a thing as a responsible and delicate service to be executed, in a great measure, under such a person. Besides this the position in which the country is placed with respect to other Powers, and the crippled state of the navy from the inadequate grants of Parliament, must strike everyone from the evidently insufficient force now employed ; it is, therefore, obvious that any officer accepting an important and conspicuous station such as that alluded to, where the eyes of the world would be upon him, could not undertake such a charge without a great probability of being obliged to call upon the Government for a greater force than a miserable reformed Parliament would have the spirit or the patriotism to allow ; and the British squadron must never be placed in a situation to risk its high character, or to act a second part in any conjunct operations upon which the interests and the credit of the country may be at stake.

On leaving the Admiralty I went to St. James's to wait upon the King, to state why I had declined a command offered to me in his name, but his Majesty had previously gone to Windsor.

I saw Sir Herbert Taylor, who said, 'I know what you are come about, and I hope all is right.' I said I had declined the command. He replied, 'I wish I had been at your elbow at the time, for I know the extraordinary difficulties in which our affairs are involved in that quarter, and the credit that will attach to any admiral who may acquit himself well under such difficulties, and I would have urged you to accept it.' Sir Herbert showed a look of more than usual disappointment. I told him I was anxious to state to his Majesty what had passed, fearing that I already stood in the background. He said I was greatly mistaken, and that his Majesty

had expressed particular satisfaction when Lord Grey and Sir J. Graham proposed me for the command, and he would be much disappointed at my refusal. I told Sir Herbert that Sir J. Graham had fully and fairly stated the great importance of the command, and the high responsibility of such a station, but, said I, as the transactions will be mostly in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, the ambassador would become a prominent person, and take much from the credit which an admiral, acting on his own responsibility, might otherwise obtain. I also observed that the squadron was too small to make it a suitable command for a flag at the main. Sir Herbert said he thought the operations more likely to be carried on at Alexandria, and that the Government would be obliged to send out a reinforcement—in fact, they would do so at once, but Parliament would not give the money, and at present they have not the means!! Happy the prospects of an admiral under such circumstances, and at a moment when it is notorious that no expense has been spared in order to make the Russian, the French, and the Egyptian squadrons as complete and perfect as possible, and each amounting to eight or ten sail of the line ; while the Malabar, of seventy-four guns, lately gone out from England, is, I believe, the only ship of the line we have in that quarter. It is possible that the St. Vincent may have returned to Malta from Lisbon.

T. B. M.

*Minute of a Conversation with William IV.  
(Apparently written very shortly after it.)*

Thursday, May 9, 1833.

I went to the King this morning, as he had left St. James's before I arrived there after my interview



with Sir J. Graham on the preceding Friday. I explained to H.M. the cause of my declining the Mediterranean command, and stated that as, in time of peace, officers were allowed to consult their own convenience, I trusted he would approve of what I had done ; that in war I should cheerfully go to any quarter of the globe ; but feeling that, besides Lady Martin's indifferent health, I could not but think it was a difficult task to establish that sort of intimate communication between Sir J. Graham and myself after what had passed formerly, and that, although he had fairly stated that the Government were disposed to give me their fullest confidence, yet I should entertain a sort of mistrust that would make me very uncomfortable, feeling that the First Lord and the Commander-in-Chief in so difficult a command must put aside all reserve ; and yet in doing so I should, as in the instance alluded to, be suspicious that the very confidence I was invited to share might be turned to my disadvantage.

I told the King I was certainly opposed to the politics and views of his present ministers, and such a command would be irksome ; if I accepted it no consideration on earth should make me swerve from the strict line of duty, and that I considered all politics or party feeling in officers who are employed as dangerous in the highest degree to the interest and credit of the country, and ruinous to the service, and that I was sure that H.M. would believe me to be incapable of harbouring such a feeling. The King said I had done quite right in acting as I found convenient and desirable in times of peace—that he would have been glad if it had been otherwise, as the command was one of great difficulty, and the Admiral's instructions of an unusual character from the peculiar circumstances in which we were placed with respect to other Powers, and the difficulties

appeared so great he could not see his way at all as to the mode of getting out of them with any satisfaction. The King then went on to speak of the great and peculiar responsibility of his situation, but he felt he had done and was doing his best, amidst such difficulties which had been forced upon him by the course of events. 'And you know,' he said, 'it was not my fault the Duke of Wellington and your friends went out of office, but the Duke was fairly taken by surprise. He was like a man shot; he fell in an instant without seeming to be aware of the situation in which he stood.' The King detained me a long time, stating his feelings and opinions, and asking many questions; complained that he was misrepresented out of doors and blamed for acts which he could not help; spoke of George IV. having commenced a system which had done much mischief; observed that he [torn off] self had never committed himself, though in [illegible] for many years he acted with [illegible] warmth on political matters. A great deal passed which has escaped my recollection. I told H.M. that no monarch had ever been placed in so difficult a position, or one in which firmness and decision were so much required.

He alluded to the French Revolution in 1792 as the commencement of troubles which have never ceased to be working mischief. I remarked that at this moment all the bad feelings of that time were aggravated by a vile disposition in the lower classes of society, and the dangerous power cast into their hands by what had lately happened, and that we had almost parted with the means of controlling so insolent a disposition.

*ADMIRAL SIR ROBT. STOPFORD TO  
B. MARTIN.*

37 Upper Harley Street,  
5th February, 1834.

My dear Martin,—I have read and re-read your publication, which, in my opinion, contains every useful topic that can be introduced upon the subject of impressment and maintenance of discipline. In my humble judgment the language is clear and forcible, and exactly suited to its object. I shall do all in my power to promote its sale, not only for the work itself, but for the benefit of the institution which is to benefit by it, having this day received the annual circular from the secretary, wherein he says that the contributions for the last year have diminished to the extent of 1,000*l.*, the annual expenditure being 5,000*l.* and the receipts from all the funded property and annual subscriptions being only 2,950*l.*

The secretary imagines that this falling-off of support may be attributed to the report of an important legacy having been left to the charity, which, however, does not appear to be available to the extent imagined. The next anniversary dinner takes place on the 22nd instant, Sir James Graham presiding.

Should the sale of your pamphlet not be so brisk as its merit entitles you to expect, I think it would be advisable, after notice has been given for bringing on the subject in the House of Commons, to distribute several copies to the members at the door of the House, the amount to be deducted either from your annual subscription or donation.

Immense crowds of people were assembled yesterday to witness the King's going to Parliament. His reception was by no means enthusiastic, but I



heard nothing offensive, though my nephew William tells me he heard some cries of 'No King,' and many groans. The Speech is considered good, if true. The tranquillity of Ireland does not appear supported by facts, and the real friends of the country, the Protestants, are in a great degree disarmed by all the concessions made to the Catholics. Rowley has put back to St. Helen's, though the moderate weather may induce him to work down Channel as has been done heretofore. We continue all well, thank God, and hope you are the same.

Yours affectionately,  
ROBERT STOPFORD.

*B. MARTIN TO SIR H. NEALE.*

February 21st, 1834.

My dear Neale,—Sir Edward Codrington moved last week for a [return] of letters that had passed between the Admiralty and himself on the subject of a pecuniary grant to the Navarino squadron. The papers are no doubt now printed, and to be had in the vote office; pray send me a copy.

I am at a loss to imagine on what grounds such a claim can rest. Algiers affords no precedent; it is not a case in point; in that instance the attack was designed by the Government, and formed the whole and sole object of the expedition, whilst the Navarino action was unauthorised, and contrary to the pacific views of the Government. There ought to be a broad distinction between rewards for authorised and unauthorised actions; approbation and reward in the latter instance has a tendency to encourage officers to assume a discretionary power, rather than adhere to orders, and thus the pacific views of the ministers may be disappointed by the

injudicious and impatient zeal of an Admiral. I would not on any account venture an opinion on the case in question, it would ill become me to do so; I speak only of the general principle, from which it is impossible to depart without extreme danger to the public service. It is in this view of the subject that I am anxious to see the correspondence.

What a shameful proceeding in the House of Commons respecting Baron Smith! It is strongly reprobated in this part of the country by men of all parties. When we hear a minister (Mr. Stanley) say that the protection of a public functionary is not the duty of the Cabinet, one can only understand it as an argument to screen his other friends in the Cabinet who sided with Mr. O'Connell, while Sir J. Graham and Mr. Spring G. Rice manfully supported Baron Smith.<sup>1</sup> If public officers are not protected in the honest execution of their duty, generals and admirals may find themselves awkwardly circumstanced under a reformed Parliament.

Captain J. Ross<sup>2</sup> is very busy cooking up an interest in the House of Commons to get a reward for his conjectural discoveries in the Arctic regions. He asserts, but, so far as I collect, does not prove

<sup>1</sup> 'An able and upright Irish judge.' O'Connell moved for an enquiry into his conduct, for coming 'late into court and sat late, and that he had introduced politics into his charge to the Grand Jury.' Weakly promised by Government February 1834. Agreed to by House of Commons by 164 to 74, and being ashamed of it, it rescinded it in a few days by 165 to 159. Alison, chapter xxxi. paragraph 115.

<sup>2</sup> The late Admiral Sir John Ross, who commanded the Victory in a private expedition equipped by the munificence of the late Sir Felix Booth for Arctic exploration. The expedition was absent from 1829 to 1833. The position of the North Magnetic Pole was ascertained by his nephew, the late Admiral Sir James Ross, the famous Antarctic explorer from 1839 to 1843, who also approximately settled the position of the South Magnetic Pole.

that he has added to our previous knowledge. His claim ought to stand on its own merits ; he has no right to bring discredit on the service, which he does, as a naval officer, by canvassing members for their votes. I have just answered a letter from him, and have frankly expressed my opinion. I told him, if I was in Parliament, I would vote to reimburse his actual expenses, but no reward. What claim has he beyond those distinguished officers who so ably conducted other voyages ? The House will do most liberally by him if, upon examination, his actual bills be paid. He states the value of his scientific instruments higher than those supplied to all the other expeditions put together, though they had what they pleased !

Yours,  
T. B. MARTIN.

*B. MARTIN TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'NAVAL  
AND MILITARY GAZETTE.'*

Devon, March 26th, 1834.

Sir,—In your Gazette of the 22nd instant you profess to give an account of the most prominent awards granted by the Naval Department, among which is the following, viz. :

‘Five thousand pounds to Sir Byam Martin for various improvements suggested by him.’

I never received a farthing, directly or indirectly, otherwise than the salary belonging to my appointment ; and therefore request you will insert this contradiction of the paragraph above quoted.

I am, Sir,  
Your humble servant,  
T. B. MARTIN, Admiral.





*ADMIRAL LORD DE SAUMAREZ TO B. MARTIN.*

12 Saville Street, 9th April, 1834.

My dear Sir Byam,—I beg to return you my most sincere thanks for your friendly and kind congratulations on my nomination as an Elder Brother of the Trinity House. The gratification I derive on the occasion is greatly enhanced in having my name so nearly associated with yours in an institution for which I have ever entertained the highest veneration; the selection of the 12th of April<sup>1</sup> for my admission in the Corporation is also very gratifying to my feelings, and I only regret that I cannot derive the benefit of your friendly support on that day.

The same morning I shall be engaged upon a very different occasion, having to attend the funeral of our late valued friend, Sir Richard Keats.<sup>2</sup>

A note I received last evening from Sir J. Brenton<sup>3</sup> informs me that his Majesty had sent to Greenwich his gracious intimation that he had directed all the sea-officers of his household to attend upon the melancholy occasion, and I also understand the Admiralty Board are also to be present.

You will be sorry to hear that we have lost another brother officer, Sir Edward Thornbrough, who, it appears, died nearly at the same hour as Sir Richard.

Should you again visit Sir Robert Barlow,<sup>4</sup> do

<sup>1</sup> Anniversary of Sir George Rodney's victory over Count de Grasse, in which action Saumarez commanded the *Russell*, of 74 guns.

<sup>2</sup> Governor of Greenwich Hospital, where he died on April 5.

<sup>3</sup> The Lieutenant-Governor of Greenwich Hospital.

<sup>4</sup> Barlow, in command of the *Childers* brig, received the first shot fired in the war with Revolutionary France, on January 2,

me the favour to mention me most kindly to him—he is a very old and attached friend of mine. Lady De Saumarez unites in kindest regards to Lady Martin and yourself, and I ever remain,

My dear Sir Byam,  
Your sincerely attached,  
DE SAUMAREZ.

*CAPTAIN PRESCOTT, APPOINTED GOVERNOR  
OF NEWFOUNDLAND, TO B. MARTIN.*

New Hummums, Covent Garden,  
September 29, 1834.

Dear Sir,—I did not receive your kind letter till last night, when it was brought to me from Clifton by a friend. I had anticipated your directions, and I am ordered a passage in the *Champion*. We shall sail from Plymouth on the 10th. I have read a vast deal of Sir T. Cochrane's public correspondence, which proves him to be a person of much reading and reflection, and of abundant zeal in the business of his Government. The comparison between us on these points makes me tremble.

I am astonished that so much good sense should be mixed up with a frivolous passion for parade, pomp, and formal etiquette. I had a short visit from your excellent son, but he did not mention Mrs. Martin's situation. You will soon be quite a patriarch. Most truly do I rejoice in Lady Martin's amended health, and most heartily do I thank you

1793, a month before the declaration of war, and took the first armed prize, *Le Patriote* privateer, on February 15. He was posted on May 24, served with distinction till 1806, when he was appointed Deputy Comptroller. He was afterwards superannuated, with the rank of rear-admiral, in 1823. In 1840, being then in his 83rd year, he was restored to the active list, with the rank of his original seniority—admiral of the white. He died in 1843.

for your kind offers respecting my wife and son. I trust that the latter will one day prove himself worthy of your regard. I know not yet when I shall escape from town. I believe that there will be a Court on Wednesday, when I hope to kiss hands.

I wish that you had mentioned Mrs. Davies ;<sup>1</sup> I trust that she is both well and happy.

I remain ever, my dear Sir,

Your grateful and faithful servant,

H. PRESCOTT.

*CAPTAIN PRESCOTT TO B. MARTIN.*

Clifton : Oct. 6, 1834.

Dear Sir,—I returned here on Saturday night, and shall start for Plymouth to-morrow, all my business being finished. As I am destined always to be a suitor to you, I must on this occasion beg you to propose me as a candidate for admission to the United Service Club. If William is a member he will probably second your nomination, which will be a double gratification to me. May I beg you to do this as early as you conveniently can, and I may get admitted, perhaps, soon after my return to Old England? I have felt the full effect of what you formerly stated to the King on my behalf. He has written, and, before the assembled Council, spoken of me in terms far beyond my deserts, but nevertheless very gratifying to my feelings. We are all united in best respects to Lady Martin, and in ardent wishes for the health and happiness of you all.

Believe me, dear Sir,

Your ever grateful and faithful servant,

H. PRESCOTT.

<sup>1</sup> Byam Martin's daughter, wife of Colonel Davies.



*Memo. in B. Martin's writing.*

17 Nov. 1834.

I went from St. Leonards to London with William<sup>1</sup> on my way to London in consequence of an intimation that the projectors of the Great Western Railway intended to go through my property, and perhaps through my house at Danehurst. On my arrival in London found a letter from Lord Granville Somerset to ask me to call. He said he was desired by the Duke of Wellington to ascertain my views about Parliament, and to know if I would stand for Devonport. Not choosing to be in the hands of underlings in office, I went to the Duke and told him I thought it likely I might get returned for Ashburton, a very Radical, seditious sort of place, and that it would accomplish a great object to get returned for such a place. I said if he had anyone he wished to send I was quite ready to make way for him, that personally I had no wish to be in Parliament. He said he was very anxious to have me and no one that he would prefer, so off I went with my son as my companion and [*quite illegible*]. I called on Lord Rolle on my way into Devonshire to get his brother-in-law, Lord Clinton, at Ashburton. Lord C. being on the Continent, I found Mr. Horsley Palmer had secured a promise some months before. A letter followed me from Lord G. Somerset to entreat me to go on to Devonport; but the expense of such an election was more than I felt at liberty to encounter. Besides, the Devonport people, Radical enough in their politics, would only suppress such feelings in favour of some official man, and as I had long ago decided not to take an inferior station at

<sup>1</sup> The late Sir W. F. Martin, his son.

the Admiralty I was clearly not the proper person to go there, and so declined, as I did afterwards upon a similar invitation to go to Portsmouth or Greenwich. I have a great disinclination both to Parliament and place. Sir G. Cockburn being desirous to resume his former place at the Admiralty I, of course, could not go there, if invited; he is my junior in the service, and I take for granted there can be no disposition to insult me by a proposal to serve under him.

Dined at the Lord Mayor's on the 23rd of November to meet new Ministers. Some there the willing tools to all parties, particularly Sir J. Scarlett, the new Chief Baron of the Exchequer. I remember him in Parliament when he seemed to glory in being a Whig, and the most desperate of them in politics. There is a saying 'It is never too late to mend,' and Sir James was toasted as one of the most excellent and estimable men of the age, and complimented by Sir Rt. Peel. Such things are very disgusting. This man Scarlett is to be immediately advanced to the peerage, adding one more to the many vulgar men who have been so brought forward, as if the State afforded no other source than this, the most impure of all, for adding to the class who enjoy the exclusive privilege of having their word esteemed of equal value to the oath of another man. While in town I was told the King had been making inquiries where I was. I did not go to the palace because it would have looked as if I was seeking a place in the new arrangements, which I can truly say is the thing of all others I most shun, though I have an ardent wish for the permanency of the Government.

*CAPTAIN PRESCOTT, GOVERNOR OF NEW-  
FOUNDLAND, TO B. MARTIN.*

St. John's, Newfoundland,  
Christmas Day, 1834.

Dear Sir,—About a fortnight ago I received your letter which had been returned to you from Plymouth, and the note of November 6th which you finally sent with it. I need not say how much I feel obliged by your continued kindness. Mr. Rice and Mr. Hay had both spoken to me of your commendation of my appointment, and the former especially seemed much gratified by it. I rejoice in Lady Martin's amended health, and in Mrs. Martin's safe confinement, and in fact in everything that contributes to your happiness.

Within these few days we have received, via Oporto, London papers to November 16th, so that we are acquainted with the dissolution of the Whig Administration, and are looking anxiously for another arrival to inform us of the new arrangements under the Duke of Wellington. In these you will, I imagine, be included; but whether as leading Naval Lord of the Admiralty or in what other post I have to guess.

In this little world of ours we also have our parties, and some violent and pig-headed people who will be restrained by no considerations of reason or propriety. On the 8th of next month I am to meet my Parliament and make my maiden speech, the great object of which will be to induce the establishment of a sufficient revenue. The house in which you dined here with Commodore Elliot, and which was situated within Fort Townshend, is long since levelled with the ground. The present residence is of a superior description, of which you will judge



when I tell you that I have three rooms *en suite*, communicating with large folding doors, more than 100 feet long. You and Lady Martin would smile at my 'At Homes.' They comprise various classes and consist of about 200 people. I was extremely rejoiced to hear of Mr. Henick's<sup>1</sup> promotion. I never met with an officer of better feeling, or more humane and temperate in command, at the same time full of zeal, and keeping the *Champion* in perfect order. Present my best respects to Lady Martin, and affectionate regards to all your family, and believe me,

Dear Sir,

Your ever grateful servant,

H. PRESCOTT.

Admiral Sir Byam Martin, &c. &c.,  
St. Leonards, Hastings.

*Memo. in B. Martin's writing.*

January 1835.

Saturday the 24th I went to Danehurst to visit Col. Davies<sup>2</sup> and my daughter.<sup>3</sup> Sir Harry Neale met me there; we had at dinner Lord and Lady Sheffield, Sir T. Wilson and Mr. and Mrs. [illegible], and Mr. Warburton Davies and his wife—a very pleasant lady. On Monday Sir Harry and myself went to Brighton, had a gracious reception from the King, dined with his Majesty, and he desired all the naval officers in the place to be brought to meet us at dinner the next day except Sir E. Codrington, whose conduct has been marked by such political violence that I believe his Majesty

<sup>1</sup> First Lieutenant of the *Champion*.

<sup>2</sup> Father of the present General Davies.

<sup>3</sup> Mrs. Davies, daughter of B. Martin.

partakes of the common feeling of the service and of the country about that silly man. The King asked if I had been offered a seat at the Admiralty and if I would have liked (one); a disagreeable question, which I contrived to avoid answering by saying that as Sir G. Cockburn had been there before, and was known to wish for office again, he had a fair claim to his former seat, and of course they would not insult me by proposing that I should serve under a junior Admiral. 'No,' said the King, 'I never supposed you would. I did not mean that, but you ought to have been placed there. Sir G. Cockburn and Lord de Grey will not go on together for a month, Sir George is so high and presuming.'<sup>1</sup> The King said Cockburn would never give up a command where he cleared 9,000*l.* a year for so precarious a place.<sup>2</sup> I said I was much mistaken if he made any hesitation about it.

I have always thought Sir George would be glad to work up such a pretence as the sacrifice in order to push for the recompense of a Peerage.

<sup>1</sup> He had been one of the Lord High Admiral's Council when William IV., then Duke of Clarence, filled that high office; and it is believed they did not get on well together. Charles Greville wrote (*Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 143—Silver Lib.): 'I have not yet ascertained the whole truth as to the Lord High Admiral's resignation. . . . I believe he quarrelled with his Council, particularly Cockburn, and the Government took part with Cockburn. The Duke of Clarence wants to promote deserving officers, but they oppose on account of expense, and they find in everything great difficulty in keeping him in order. His resignation will be very unpopular in the navy, for his system of promotion was more liberal and impartial than that of his predecessor [Lord Melville], whose administration was one perpetual job, and who made the patronage of the Admiralty instrumental in governing Scotland.' But see *ante*, p. 100. The whole correspondence will be found in vol. iv. Duke of Wellington's *Correspondence*, second series.

<sup>2</sup> The command in the West Indies, which he held from 1832-6, and, between freight money and capture of slavers, was very lucrative.

I had a long conversation with Sir H. Taylor on the present aspect of affairs and party feeling. I observed that the King stood in a position requiring great firmness. Sir H. said the King felt it fully and would not give way; he had taken a strong measure in dismissing the late Ministers; he was quite alive to all the consequences of a failure of the new Government.

*SIR H. TAYLOR, PRIVATE SECRETARY TO  
WILLIAM IV., TO B. MARTIN.*

Windsor Castle, March 21, 1835.

My dear Sir Byam,—I did not delay submitting to the King your letter of the 14th inst., and the accompanying pamphlet on the Impressment of Seamen and on Corporal Punishment, which his Majesty received very graciously and with great satisfaction. He kept a copy, and has now ordered me to acquaint you that he has read every word and that he entirely agrees in the view you have taken of both subjects, which his Majesty considers you have treated most ably and clearly, and with a correctness of language and a happiness of expression which are not inferior to the soundness and acuteness of the reasoning. His Majesty hopes that this publication will be widely circulated and will carry conviction to those who may be wavering, as many have received erroneous impressions, and will satisfy them of the serious evils which must result from the abandonment and sacrifice of the resource and the power in these two cases.

I have also read your pamphlet with great attention and satisfaction. Your arguments were indeed not required to remove any doubt from my mind, as I had never felt the slightest indication to yield to the advocates for the abandonment of im-



pressment for the navy or of the power of inflicting corporal punishment, but with respect to the latter (a subject which has engaged much of my earnest and anxious attention) I should be satisfied to meet any statement I might be called upon to make upon the remarks so forcibly and comprehensively introduced in your paper.

Believe me to be, my dear Sir Byam,  
Most truly yours,  
H. TAYLOR.

*SIR HERBERT TAYLOR TO B. MARTIN.*

Windsor Castle, May 8th, 1835.

My dear Sir Byam,—I took the earliest opportunity of submitting to the King your letter of the 27th April and the accompanying remarks upon the Bill for Regulating the Improvement of Seamen. His Majesty read them and expressed himself very much satisfied with the able and judicious manner in which you have treated the subject, and he ordered me to send your remarks to Lord Auckland and to recommend them to his attention.

His lordship replied that he had already received them from you and that he waited the return of Admiral Adam<sup>1</sup> to town to confer with him upon the subject, to the importance of which he is quite awake.

Believe me to be, my dear Sir Byam,  
Yours very sincerely,  
H. TAYLOR.

*SIR R. STOPFORD TO B. MARTIN.*

[July 1835.]

My dear Martin,—Mr. Barrow has given full scope to that caustic severity of review so amply

<sup>1</sup> Appointed First Naval Lord of Admiralty.

afforded him by the vanity and inaccuracy of such a work as Captain Ross<sup>1</sup> has given to the world. I regret that the palpable demonstration of these two qualities should obscure the valuable parts of his character, consisting of great fortitude and presence of mind in keeping together for such a length of time the various dispositions of his crew.

Barrow's criticism is unnecessarily cruel and harsh; he gives an extract from a work composed from the notes of a person who acted as purser's steward (and which in other respects he professes to disbelieve), ascribing to Captain Ross the intention of leaving one of his men to perish who had lost part of his foot, and of course would not without much assistance accompany the crew in their long fatiguing march after the ship was abandoned. This attack should be positively repelled, as it strikes at the root of all the commendable parts of Ross's conduct, for he can never be quoted as an authentic historian or hydrographer.

Yours affectionately,

ROBERT STOPFORD.

*Copy, in his writing, of B. Martin's answer to an application to subscribe to a monument to Sir Henry Duncan. No name given.*

November 18, 1835.

Dear Sir,—Your letter of the 12th instant, directed to Wimpole Street, reached me late last night.

<sup>1</sup> Ross's expedition of 1829-33, in which the North Magnetic Pole was discovered by his nephew, afterwards the famous Antarctic explorer, Sir James Ross, who approached near the South Magnetic Pole also. Barrow's article is in the *Quarterly Review*, July 1835.

No one can entertain greater respect for the memory of Sir H. Duncan than myself, and I join with all those who knew him in deploring a friend whose excellent qualities rendered him dear to the society in which he lived. His worth was universally acknowledged, and I shall ever regard his premature death as a great loss to the service. These are my sincere sentiments, and I trust they will protect me from any doubtful construction of the objections I feel to the proposal suggested in your letter.

If the erecting of a monument to a brother officer be once taken up by the navy, it must involve the promoters of it in a very difficult, delicate, and invidious task ; it necessarily requires them to fix on the individuals they deem the best entitled to so great a distinction, and, by implication, those not so complimented are to be considered of inferior merit. Thus it may happen, in the natural partiality of such selection, that men whose names have been familiar to the country from the frequency of their high exploits, may have a slur cast upon their memories, because they receive not this mark of private regard and professional admiration. Surely great care is necessary upon this point, and also that we wound not the feelings of the living.

How recently we have had to strike out from the list of the Club the names of Sir Thomas Foley, Keats, Exmouth, Hallowell, and Legge, men pre-eminently great in their professions, and estimable in all the relations of life ! Such characters are consigned to the guardianship of the navy ; and, faithful to so sacred a trust, I never will consent to let the name of any man stand above them. And on this principle I must decline to be a member of the



committee or a subscriber to the proposed monument.

I am quite sure that the friends you have mentioned as taking an interest in this measure are actuated by the best of feelings, and I join with them cordially in their esteem for the memory of Captain Duncan, but I cannot go further.

You are at perfect liberty to show this letter to anyone you please, and I would not wish my name to be mentioned with reference to this subject without the fullest explanation of my sentiments.

I am, dear Sir,

M.

*SIR J. COCKBURN TO B. MARTIN.*

[*Private and Confidential.*]

Recd. Sunday, Dec. 6th.

Postmark 1835.

My dear Sir Byam,—Will you be persuaded to stand, in the event of a vacancy or general election, for Marylebone? Do not start at the proposition, startling though it be; our association have selected you as their beau idéal of a candidate, and will work heartily to ensure your success, and I verily believe with every prospect of attaining it, and of your being materially assisted in the expenses.

I have undertaken to ask you the question in confidence, and will pray you to receive it so, and to let me have your answer by Monday's or Tuesday's post from Brighton, as our confidential committee meet again on Wednesday.

I really hope it may be favourable, as I do think you would succeed, and with very little personal trouble and expense, and I rest ever, my dear Sir Byam,

Faithfully yours,

J. COCKBURN.

[Most probably Major-General Sir J. Cockburn, Bt., brother to Admiral Sir George, who succeeded him in the title.]

*Answer.*

St. Leonards, Hastings, Decr. 7th, 1835.

My dear Sir James,—Be assured your private and confidential letter shall be kept strictly within the sacred limits you have prescribed.

It is very flattering to me, and gratifying too, that you, and others, should desire to place me in the front of those patriotic and estimable men of Marylebone, with whom I am proud to be united in our loyal Conservative association.

There are many reasons why, at a moment like the present, I ought to spring to the post pointed out to me, and encouraged by an assurance of such support, it requires more than an ordinary effort of forbearance to resist the temptation of so great a distinction; but circumstances of a private nature overrule all other considerations, and constrain me to decline the proposal of the Committee.

With my kind regards to those around you, I am ever, my dear Sir James, with great esteem,

Yours very truly,  
T. B. M.

*J. W. CROKER TO B. MARTIN.*

Molesey: 10 July, '36.

My dear Martin,—If you are in town I wish you would do me the favour of sitting for half an hour for a sketch of your portrait for the background of the Old House of Commons, or if you

dislike sitting, the loan of a *like* miniature would do, though not quite as well.

If you can sit, write a note to

J. Moore, Esq.,

care of Mrs. Skilton,

17 Queen's Square, Westminster,

to say what day and hour you will sit.

The sitting place is 14 Duke Street, Westminster—Sir William Follett's, who has lent my painter a room for the purpose.

We go to-morrow to Ryde for a month.

Yours ever,

J. W. CROKER.

The object of my picture is to show the House of Commons at the background of Lawrence's picture of Canning, who is on his legs in the front.

*Memorandum in B. Martin's writing.*

Thursday, June 1, 1837.

Dined at Admiral Sotheron's with Willy.<sup>1</sup> Met Mr. Estcourt, the Member for the Oxford University; the Hon. Mr. and Mrs. Pierpoint, Sir W. Clinton, Major Estcourt (lately returned from the Euphrates expedition<sup>2</sup>), Sir John Barrow, the Secretary to the Admiralty, and several others.

The 1st of June being the anniversary of Lord Howe's victory in 1794, and the picture of General Wolfe, Admiral Sotheron's grand-uncle, being over the chimney-piece, the conversation turned upon naval and military matters.

Speaking of Lord Howe with the respect due to his great name, I observed that a man of seventy

<sup>1</sup> The late Admiral Sir W. F. Martin, G.C.B.

<sup>2</sup> Under Colonel Chesney, R.E., 1835-7.



years of age was seldom blessed with bodily strength and vigour of mind equal to the anxiety and fatigues of so great a charge ; and that Lord Howe at that age was quite exhausted, as well indeed he might, considering that they had been manœuvring and fighting for three days. I observed that great battles were generally gained by young generals and young admirals, but without presuming to cast any reflection upon Lord Howe, but merely to speak of his suffering from the feebleness of age. I remarked Alexander the Great dying a drunkard at thirty-four ; Gustave Adolphus (killed at thirty-eight) ; that Nelson, when he was killed at Trafalgar, was only forty-seven ; that the Duke of Wellington was forty-seven when he closed his brilliant career at Waterloo ; that Wolfe was only thirty-three when commander-in-chief and fell so nobly on the plains of Abraham.

I observed that Lord Howe, though feeble in body, had a lion heart, and that, although so exhausted as to be obliged to sit down in a chair on deck, he expressed a wish to pursue the flying enemy ; but Sir Roger Curtis, the Captain of the Fleet, said, 'I vow to God, my Lord, if you do they will turn the tables upon us.'

This anecdote I had from the late Admiral Bowen, who was master of the Queen Charlotte and a party to the conversation.

My object was to show that the greatest battles ever fought had been conducted by young generals and admirals, where vigour of mind and body go together and are equally untiring. Would Nelson have allowed a ship to escape after the battle of the 12th of April, when Lord Hood urged Lord Rodney to pursue the discomfited enemy ? No, not one of them would have escaped ; but Lord Rodney, when pressed by Lord Hood to pursue them, said ' No, I

have done more than mortal man ever did before and am satisfied.' Nelson would have thought nothing was done while anything remained to do ; but Nelson was forty years old when he astonished the world and destroyed the French fleet at the Nile. He was forty-three at Copenhagen and forty-seven at Trafalgar ; Rodney was sixty-four in the battle of the 12th of April ; he was born in February 1718.<sup>1</sup>

Barrow has stated in ' Lord Howe ' pretty much what I told him.

Saturday, the 8th July, 1837.

I was summoned, or rather invited, by a note from Lord Minto to attend the funeral of William IV. at Windsor as assistant canopy bearer, six dukes being [*not very legible*] canopy bearers. The appointment was at seven, to be in readiness to marshal the procession, which commenced at 9 o'clock, the Duke of Sussex chief mourner, and the widowed Queen was present in what is called the royal closet, that is, the royal pew. The chanting was very tiresome, so that it was 12 o'clock before we left the chapel. The beautiful and impressive burial service was not well read ; when the coffin was lowered into the vault the Lord Chamberlain and Lord Steward broke their wands and cast them upon the coffin ; this ceremony is understood to dissolve the household of the late sovereign.

Few, if anyone, present knew so much of the King as myself, and this closing scene of his earthly greatness brings to my mind many interesting and some melancholy recollections. I had known the

<sup>1</sup> The exact ages are interesting. Rodney was born in February 1719 and was 63 ; Howe was born in March 1726, and was 68 ; but both were older than their years.

King well in all the stages of the naval profession, and could retrace circumstances when he wore the coat of a midshipman, a lieutenant, a captain, an admiral and Lord High Admiral. I served with him in every ship he ever commanded. I was Comptroller of the Navy when the King was Lord High Admiral.

He is gone from the pinnacle of earthly grandeur to the foot of that throne of mercy where, stripped of the pomps and vanities of this sinful world, he must appear at that seat of judgment where the Monarch and the Beggar are seen with equal eye, and judged with equal love.

*Memorandum, in B. Martin's writing.*

1837.

Pleasing prospects on the breaking out of war.

1. A national debt of eight hundred millions, requiring thirty millions a year to pay the interest.

2. Four-fifths of the population of Ireland threatening rebellion, and ready to take advantage of a war to compel England to submit to the terms dictated by an infamous and selfish fellow (O'Connell) and the papist priests.

3. So general a discontent in England on the question of the new poor-law enactment, as to make it clear that there will be an outbreak amongst the lower classes whenever work begins to slacken.

4. The repair of the fleet has been neglected, and our naval establishments in a less efficient state than at the commencement of any former war.

5. The dockyard people greatly dissatisfied on account of the inconsiderate treatment of them in depriving them of vested privileges, unreasonable regulations in the classification of the artificers, and



reducing their wages below what is given by private shipbuilders. The men will assuredly show their discontent in a manner to command compliance with their wishes, or to paralyse our naval efforts just at the very moment when the greatest exertion may be required.

6. The principles of discipline so essential to the good order and effectiveness of a fleet, or army, greatly impaired by the mischievous meddling of men in Parliament.

7. Impressment of seamen held up in so offensive a light as to make it very doubtful if we shall ever get our fleet to sea; and if we do, the same cause will prevent keeping up a supply of seamen.

8. Our institutions have become so democratic and parties in the House of Commons so nearly divided, that it will be impossible for any set of ministers, of any party, to carry on war operations with a necessary degree of vigour.

Poor old England!

1838.

To the foregoing catalogue may now be added :

Canada in a state of rebellion and scarcely kept down by the presence of 18,000 soldiers and the conservatives of the upper province.

Newfoundland in rebellion.

The United States ready to go to war rather than give up an acre of the line of boundary as claimed by them.

The price of bread rising to an alarming degree.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to compare this account with the present state of affairs, when the Transvaal war has brought out the loyalty and unity of the Empire.

*Memo. of B. Martin.*

June 29th, 1838.

Dined with Lord Minto, the First Lord of the Admiralty, to celebrate the Queen's Coronation. A pleasant party, consisting chiefly of naval officers, viz. : Sir George Martin, Sir P. Durham, Sir Graham Moore, Sir C. Ogle, Sir P. Campbell, Sir Bladen Capel, Sir H. Digby, &c., and the members of the Board of Admiralty. In conversation with Lord Minto in the drawing-room after dinner I spoke earnestly and anxiously of the necessity of being largely provided with steam vessels of the most powerful description, observing that the first battle would be in favour of the fleet with the greatest number of steamers. He assured me he felt the importance of being well provided in this new and powerful arm of war, and that he had just obtained an official return of the number of steamers in this country, and that the number was 700, and that he felt quite at ease as to our superiority in numbers and size. He observed also that the Ordnance were getting on as fast as possible in preparing the large guns for throwing shells, in readiness to arm the steamers. I stated my fear that the merchant steamers would not be strong enough to bear the fire of such guns.

Lord Minto said he wished to ask my opinion on a point of service—it was as follows : an officer, lately paid off, had while in command been entrusted with secret confidential orders to be executed under certain circumstances, which circumstances never occurred, and consequently the orders were not executed. The officer, when paid off, considered himself no longer bound to secrecy, and divulged his orders for political and party purposes. I told him, if such conduct was permitted, there could be

no safety in conducting the public service ; that I considered all party feeling in professional matters a high crime, and that, whoever the officer may be to whom he alluded, he could not be too severely punished. Lord M. said they thought, on the whole, it was best not to press the matter too far and to let it drop. I observed that not to check such conduct in an exemplary manner might have very dangerous consequences.<sup>1</sup>

*CAPTAIN PRESCOTT, R.N., GOVERNOR OF  
NEWFOUNDLAND, TO BYAM MARTIN.*

Newfoundland, December 1, 1838.

Dear Sir,—I have just received your most kind letter of October 12th, and avail myself of a hurried opportunity of thanking you for it. What you say of my conduct being approved at headquarters is gratifying and interesting, for it is long since I have received any despatch from thence. You may well believe, however, that I am not anxious to have the period of my government extended : indeed, were it not for the imputation of moral cowardice to which such a proceeding would expose me, I should have resigned long since. My difficulties are not, nor have they ever been, entirely owing to the House of Assembly or to the Catholic Party. The violent party spirit of influential, and even, I regret to say, of official persons occasions me infinite trouble ; and I have pursued my course, cheered scarcely by the support of a single individual. The Chief Justice has, however, been lately most properly removed ; and had Government possessed the power, as I doubt not they possessed the will, to procure the recall of our

<sup>1</sup> Most naval officers will, I believe, concur with B. Martin's views, and think that Lord Minto made a mistake in not taking notice of the matter.



R.C. Bishop at the same time, we should have had some chance of peace. There is, however, much of exaggeration in what is said of our state in the papers; and the application of the Liverpool merchants for the immediate conveyance of additional troops for the security of property here is utterly ridiculous.

We have an arrival from Halifax with news to the 20th ult. The rebellion is again broken out in Canada. A run has been made upon the banks, which have, in consequence, suspended payments in specie. Several individuals have been seized by the rebels as hostages. A declaration of independence has been issued, and martial law is said to be proclaimed. You will, however, have correct information of these matters before my letter can reach you.

And now for more grateful subjects. We rejoice in the health and happiness you are all enjoying in the return of your military son with his pleasing bride—in the addition which Mrs. Davies has made or is about to make to her family—and in Captain H. Martin's contentment with his ship and station.

I presume that little Byam is at school at Blackheath.

Your naval strictures are of an important character. The mixed Commission have a difficult task to accomplish. I perfectly agree in the opinion that it is essentially necessary to infuse young blood into the upper ranks of our service: it grieves me to see the bald and grey-headed captains who arrive here occasionally in command of small ships.

There can be no better way of sending the picture than that you mention, than by the house of Robinson and Brooking.<sup>1</sup> I should wish them to insure it, and forward it by a good ship.

<sup>1</sup> Newfoundland and Liverpool merchants.

We are all in excellent health, with the thermometer as low as  $12^{\circ}$  in the night. Accept our united warmest regards for Lady M. and all your race ; and believe me, dear Sir, your ever sincere and faithful servant,

H. PRESCOTT.

Admiral Sir Byam Martin, G.C.B. &c. &c. &c.  
Wimpole Street, Marylebone.

*CAPTAIN PRESCOTT, GOVERNOR OF NEW-  
FOUNDLAND, TO BYAM MARTIN.*

Newfoundland, May 22, 1839.

Dear Sir,—I have been disappointed in my hopes of hearing from you this spring, and I have in vain sought amongst the periodicals for the announcement of the birth of Mrs. Davies's second child—an event, nevertheless, which I trust has happily occurred to the increased happiness of all her family. A bulletin from you would be a treat in the midst of our contentions and troubles. My wife and children are all in good health, and the season being unusually forward, our garden and grounds are already assuming some beauty ; but the best and most pleasing of our prospects is that of our return to Old England next year. I lately made confidentially a tender of my post, should the appointment of a new Governor be thought likely to conduce to the peace of the colony. This offer was declined in very handsome terms ; and, indeed, all the correspondence from Downing Street, as far as I am personally concerned, has been of a pleasing description ; but I have been sadly abused in the 'Standard,' whose editor has for his correspondent our Collector of the Customs, a member *ex-officio* of the Council, and one of the most restless, intermeddling, and unquiet spirits I ever encountered.

What with the wrong-headedness of the Council, and the vulgarity, ignorance, and presumption of the House of Assembly, I have enough to do—my only support under perpetual calumny and misrepresentation being an approving conscience. The little that Lord Durham<sup>1</sup> has written and said of Newfoundland is full of arrogance, folly, and falsehood ; and betrays soreness at my not having consented to visit him at Quebec. I shall always be of opinion that, with respect to this colony, he mistook the intentions of Government, the powers of his commission, and the scope of his instructions. His information and suggestions regarding the Canadas, Lower Canada especially, are deserving of all consideration ; but his notions of the responsibility of governors to local assemblies and the federal or legislative union of all the North American possessions, more particularly as applied to this island, are visionary and absurd in the highest degree.<sup>2</sup> I find that Sir Thomas Harvey<sup>3</sup> arrived in Bermuda on the 3rd instant, but I have not yet heard from him. The Mixed Commission is, I presume, approaching the term of its labours ; the result is anxiously expected, and if it does not occasion disappointment I shall be surprised.

We have London papers of April 26th—a rather tantalising circumstance, as on that very day Lord Aberdeen presented a petition on the subject of Newfoundland, and we know little or nothing of the details or determination respecting it.

Present our most affectionate respects and regards

<sup>1</sup> Sent out as Governor-General to Canada after the rebellion of 1836-7.

<sup>2</sup> The Dominion of Canada is, however, now an accomplished fact, and Newfoundland would be in a better position had it joined the Dominion.

<sup>3</sup> The Naval Commander-in-Chief.



to Lady Martin, and believe me, with best wishes for every branch of your numerous family,

My dear Sir, your ever grateful and faithful

H. PRESCOTT.

*ADMIRAL SIR H. BURRARD NEALE TO BYAM MARTIN.*

Walhampton, August 16th [1839].

My dear Martin,—Although I am now become a quiet country gentleman, I often feel a longing wish to inhabit old Tuck's apartments for a week or ten days to see my old friends in London again. I think it probable I shall soon have business to settle, in which some of my nephews and nieces are concerned, that will require my presence in London, when my first call shall be at No. 53 Wimpole Street.

Should Mrs. Sotheron be in town, pray thank her for me when you next see her for her kind remembrance of me in sending me a print of my late amiable friend,<sup>1</sup> which I shall highly value. I think you had better keep it until the lawyers summon me to town, when I can receive it from you myself, and most happy I shall be to see you, Lady Martin, and all your family who may be in town. It will bring back old recollections when you and myself were perched on the top of a famous mulberry tree at Plymouth, regaling ourselves with that delicious fruit. I now very easily content myself without climbing a tree, lest by gravitation's law I should descend more rapidly than I mounted. It is very gratifying to learn that Stopford's proceedings are approved of by the administration under the various and difficult circumstances which have arisen, perplexing to a Commander-in-Chief, who, if he erred, might be con-

<sup>1</sup> Admiral Frank Sotheron.

sidered as risking the chances of a war. I do not know any bay called Bachia, but I remember anchoring and remaining in a bay about six miles to the south of the Dardanelles for some days, being the nearest anchorage to the Dardanelles to the southward.<sup>1</sup> The bay is an open anchorage, but the water is not deep, being about seven and eight fathoms. This bay (so considering its name) we called Scamander, after the famous river of that name, so celebrated in the Trojan War. Whether there is any bay to the northward of the Dardanelles I do not know; but it is very possible, although I never heard of any. From Scamander Bay the mouth of the Dardanelles is visible. We fortunately have no avowed Chartists in this part of the country, but we have people who would be ready to adopt any violent proceedings were any favourable occasions to present themselves; but the majority of the southern district of this county is Conservative, and that is for us a favourable circumstance. We are not, however, deficient as to the number of dissenters. I felt deeply interested in reading Lady Flora Hastings's<sup>2</sup> letter to her uncle. A more cruelly persecuted young woman I believe never existed; the intensity of her feelings can only be judged of when she says 'the Edict was given,' &c. &c. She had no alternative, driven to the last extremity, as she felt herself. I knew her at Malta, and had the whole family (who were there) on board the *Revenge* when I carried Lord Hastings to Naples, and who died on board on the night of our arrival. The weather here has been favourable for the harvest until yesterday, when we had showers occasionally, and the same this day, which prevents our carrying wheat. I have about twelve acres out, which is all my stock in trade, the greater part of

<sup>1</sup> Besika Bay, a frequent rendezvous of our fleets.

<sup>2</sup> Died on July 5, 1839.

which I purpose to eat myself. I grieve to learn that my amiable friend Bessy has been so seriously ill. I trust she will go on well, and that her former health will be restored to her. Give my love to Lady Martin, Bessy, and Willy, and my kind regards to Col. Davies. Believe me ever,

My dear Martin,

Most truly yours,

H. NEALE (Admiral).

*CAPTAIN PRESCOTT TO B. MARTIN.*

[Date of post-mark, Aug. 21, 1839.]

Dear Sir,—I received the print of the Queen in perfect order about a fortnight ago. I am no judge of the likeness, as I have never seen her Majesty ; but this gives me the idea of a pretty girl. The engraving is excellent and the frame exactly what I wished. I presume the artist had some motive in his choice of position &c., or I should say that Mr. Sully's taste is not good. A stooping posture, with the back to the crown and sceptre, and an empty throne may in these unquiet times be termed almost ominous. Whether this criticism be correct or not, I am delighted to see the Queen in the drawing-room of Government House, and I most sincerely thank you for the trouble you have so kindly taken on this occasion. I feel, as you may well suppose, great interest in your family detail. Mrs. Davies has, I imagine, had twin sons, over whom, the danger being past, she is now rejoicing. Your account of Mrs. Robert Martin is delightful—the Mediterranean news all good, and nothing vexatious but the delicate health of my friend William's<sup>1</sup> second wife. This

<sup>1</sup> Sir W F. Martin, G.C.B.



is indeed a strange and wonderful fatality. We are enjoying a summer greatly superior to any I have heretofore seen in N. F. L. I was able yesterday to treat some officers, who arrived accidentally in a transport bound to Ireland, with new potatoes, peas, carrots, turnips, cabbage, spinach, lettuce, cucumber, strawberries, and gooseberries. Nosegays in the drawing-room, containing eschscholtzias, nemophilas, delphinium, monkshood, lupines of various kinds, magnificent roses, antirrhinum, columbine, Siberian flax, phlox, peonies, orange lilies, &c. In the hall, in pots, beautiful double balsams, convolvulus major, Cape gooseberries, ice-plants, geraniums, &c. &c. I have sheep feeding in a paddock surrounding the house, upon rich clover ; and, to crown all, my plantations of forest trees from Old England have made vigorous shoots. I think that my successor, whether a stranger to the island or acquainted with it in former times, will be astonished at the personal comforts prepared for him. Nevertheless, we all sigh for our return, and the only favour I shall ever ask in connection with this Government is that I may be relieved next year early enough to secure my family a summer passage home. Not the least of my expected pleasures will be once more to see you and Lady Martin, for whom I shall always feel a tender and grateful affection. I am very much delighted with the description you give of your mode of life. ' *Otium cum dignitate* ' is truly your lot, and I suspect that your pen is not idle.

Our latest papers are to 14th June, when the Chartist demonstrations had assumed a less threatening appearance. I will not plague you with our island politics, which are much as before.

My eldest son completed his twenty-third year on the 13th of last June, and we are hoping to hear of his obtaining a title and being ordained. We are

all in excellent health, and united in warmest wishes for the happiness of all your family.

Believe me ever, dear Sir,  
Your most faithful servant,  
H. PRESCOTT.

Admiral Sir Byam Martin, G.C.B. &c. &c.  
Wimpole Street, Marylebone.

*SIR ROBERT STOPFORD TO B. MARTIN.*

Princess Charlotte, Vourla Bay [near Smyrna],  
5 Novr. 1839.

My dear Martin,—I cannot continue to serve under a Government with which I cannot cordially act, and have therefore mentioned to the Admiralty my desire to be relieved early next summer, which will be nearly the three years of taking the command.

I did not deserve this slight respecting Greenwich, as I have helped the Government out of some difficulties, and would have done so now if they had listened to me instead of that vain weak man, Lord Ponsonby.<sup>1</sup> Here I am with twelve sail of the line, expecting the French squadron from Barra Bay<sup>2</sup> with eleven, neither party knowing for what purpose we are assembled or what is expected of us.

The Turks warned us off from before the Dardanelles, and now that they are wisely arranging their own affairs with Egypt, we shall be laughed at as usual for our pompous and fruitless interference. I expect soon to hear of the return of the Turkish

<sup>1</sup> Ambassador at Constantinople.

<sup>2</sup> According to the *Annual Register*, the French fleet under Admiral Lalande was cruising with ours under Stopford.

fleet to Constantinople: <sup>1</sup> Mehemet Ali has had quite enough of them. He only kept them to set the four Great Powers at variance, in which he has quite succeeded, as I believe only two (if so many) agree as to their future measures.

I shall endeavour to relieve the Carysfort at Therapia about Christmas, as I think Henry finds the climate of winter disagree with him. I must soon go to Malta myself, finding my health and spirits fail by all these vexatious and troublesome operations.

Yours affectionately,  
RT. [STOPFORD].

*GRANVILLE PENN TO B. MARTIN.*

Stoke Park, 1st January, 1840.

My dear Sir,—Thank you most heartily for your kind and acceptable letter received this morning. [No copy found.]

With respect to your very natural censure for omitting the name of Jamaica, I shall easily acquit myself.

It was my earnest wish to have retained that name; but I found, on examination, that, the conquest of Jamaica being a trophy of the Protectorate of Cromwell, it would not be correct to revert to it as an honour emanating from the restored crown. It was, therefore, with the greatest regret that I found myself constrained to omit the record of that important conquest, in an application to the lawful

<sup>1</sup> In July 1839 the Turkish fleet was treacherously surrendered to Mehemet Ali of Egypt, thus giving him command of the sea over the Turks—consequently of Syria. This fleet was restored when peace was made as a consequence of Stopford's capture of Acre and other Syrian ports.



sovereign for an enterprise achieved by his usurper. Such, at least, was the impression forty years ago.

I thank you much for adverting to the Anchor, and will communicate with my friend in the 'Herald's' office.

We all cordially unite in all the best wishes of the season to you and yours, and I remain, my dear Sir, with the highest respect and regard,

Yours faithfully,  
GR. PENN.

Mr. Granville Penn is the [great] grandson of Admiral Sir W. Penn, who added Jamaica to the British Crown, and the grandson of the settler of Pennsylvania,<sup>1</sup> Penn the Quaker, whose estimable character stands prominently in the history of that State, in which his name is regarded with great reverence.

*Character of Sir H. Neale, in B. Martin's  
writing.*

7th of Feby., 1840.

This year I lost the oldest and most intimate friend I ever had, the late Admiral Sir Harry Burrard Neale.<sup>2</sup>

An uninterrupted intimacy of forty-seven years enables me to say that I never in my life met with a more pure-minded man.

I have known him under circumstances of great provocation both public and private, and witnessed

<sup>1</sup> Penn wished to call it Sylvania. Charles II. added Penn in recognition of the services of Sir W. Penn.—*History of Chalfont St. Giles*, by Rev. P. W. Phipps.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 169.

on such occasions a power of checking angry and resentful feelings which I never saw in others, or ever felt myself.

There was implanted in his heart a principle of Christian benevolence, which made him truly the friend of the friendless. There was nothing from his earliest years, to his death at the age of seventy-four, for which he was so remarkable as his attention to the interests of the poor, but it was without parade, and never done 'to be seen of men.' It was necessary to know from others the extent of his generosity, and the endearing affability which rendered his visit to the cottagers, far and wide around Walhampton, so gratifying to the inmates.

At sea, or on shore, the same frank and manly deportment to all, whether to his superiors, his equals, or the seamen, rendered him the most universally popular and respected character I have ever known.

Of this we have a remarkable instance at the time of the disgraceful mutiny at the Nore in 1797. On that occasion the whole of the fleet, with the exception of Sir Harry's ship, the *St. Fiorenzo*, were in the hands of the mutineers.

The *St. Fiorenzo's* crew never swerved from their duty, or ever abated in their attachment to their captain, but steadily and cheerfully submitted to his command, even to the length of clearing for battle, and placing the ship under the stern of the *Sandwich* (the rebel admiral's ship) to fire into her, if so ordered by the authorities on shore.

Without flinching from the due execution of the stern and painful duties unavoidable in the government of a large body of men, Sir Harry's punishments were inflicted with such strict justice and moderation, that the seamen never ceased to regard him as their true and best friend.

*B. MARTIN TO ADMIRAL SIR WILLIAM PARKER,  
A LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY.*

19 Brunswick Terrace, Brighton, April 6th, 1840.

My dear Parker,—I greatly rejoice to see by the papers that eighteen noble line-of-battle ships are about to be built; but I am much struck at the reduced arming of some of the first rates, by which they will have 110 instead of 120 guns. I have no doubt there is a good reason for it, though it does not appear, as I believe the *Caledonia* has sufficient space for working her 120 guns.

I am led to this observation by a statement now before me of the arming of the United States ship *Pennsylvania*, rated (and as far as the world believes) a 74-gun ship. It is said also that France and Russia are adopting a similar arming, by which their first rates will carry 140 guns.

In the late American war the heavier arming of the American frigates induced the Admiralty to issue a secret order (no matter whether wisely or not) cautioning the captains commanding frigates not to seek an action with ships of superior force—that is, our 18-pounder 40-gun ships were not to encounter American frigates of 50 guns, 24-pounders.

Jonathan, though unpractised in war, knew full well that the heavy 24-pounders with which their ships were armed, would give the shot a greater range than our light 18-pounders, so that with a choice of position they could with impunity knock our ships to pieces. The Admiralty order would have been better had it only cautioned captains when so circumstanced to counteract so great an advantage on the part of an opponent by bearing up and draw him into a stern chase, until his closing up should give an opportunity fairly to grapple with him. Had such a manœuvre been practised in the



case of the Macedonian the result might have been very different ; but it required more courage to do anything that might look like withdrawing from battle than it did to be fired at without the chance of sending a shot back in return.

I only allude to this circumstance because to a superficial observer it seems strange that the same department which admonished our captains to be cautious not to engage the heavier armed ships of America should now by choice adopt so great a disparity in the arming, that the first rate of other nations will have thirty guns more, that is, in fact, equal to another deck, fifteen guns of a side more than our ships, which it must be acknowledged is giving great odds in favour of the enemy.

The Princess Charlotte, Impregnable, &c., were built when there was a stupid distinction which made the smaller class of three-decker a second rate.

The next war, come when it may, will be a giant struggle at sea. Other nations have so greatly improved in all maritime matters that they will send forth more formidable and better appointed fleets than we have hitherto had to contend with to dispute our supremacy on the ocean ; it is therefore most satisfactory to see that you are so provident as to have eighteen sail of large ships in progress of building. If ever we cease to carry all before us at sea, our colonies, our commerce, and consequently the revenue of the country will vanish, as it were, with all the suddenness of the clearing away of a mist. I wish you had 500,000*l.* more in the estimates for getting up a suitable number of steamers.

I see in the same newspaper to which I allude that the French are to launch five war steamers this year, each of 220 horse-power ; this shows the just

estimate they make of the power of such vessels for war purposes. It is my belief that it will be chiefly on this description of vessel that we shall have to rely hereafter as the floating batteries to checkmate the preparations of assault which the French are getting up at St. Malo &c. I believe also that the fleet which is attended by the greatest number of heavy well-commanded steamers will have an immense advantage. Steamers, if judiciously conducted, have the power to inflict merciless wounds with impunity, so that a first rate may be bled to death, if I may so say, without receiving a shot in return.

Excuse my troubling you so much at length, or indeed at all upon such matters ; but, whatever you do, don't put me down as one of those scribbling people whose bad taste and wrong feeling in attacking the department to which they belong I greatly deprecate.

I had three weeks' confinement to the house some time ago, and now I have again been indoors a fortnight. The fact is, we flag gentlemen of the main are getting very shaky, and so, indeed, are most of those in the grades below us ; but I suppose the report of the Commission will suggest some means by which the flag list is to be invigorated—something must be done to give younger admirals. At sea, when the upper part of a rope is much worn and too feeble for further use, we shift it, end for end, so as to bring the lower and stronger part into play; and so it must be with the Navy List. You must by some process get at the young captains, but in doing so I hope everything kind and tender will be done to the old ones.

I am ever, my dear Parker,

Most truly yours,

T. BYAM MARTIN.

P.S.—Henry tells me the Admiral had received a despatch at Malta in seven days and three hours from London.

The letter of the Secretary of War to the United States Congress in 1794 on this subject is interesting, and is as follows:—The said six frigates authorised by Congress ‘separately would be more than a match for any single European frigate of the usual dimension ; that if assailed by numbers they would always be able to lead ahead, and they could never be obliged to go into action except on their own terms, or except in a calm, and that in heavier weather they would be capable of engaging two-decked ships.’<sup>1</sup> These ships were the *Constitution*, which captured our *Guerrière* and *Java* ; the *United States*, which captured the *Macedonian*, and the *President*, captured by us, were all 24-pounder frigates. The *Constellation*, *Congress*, and the *Chesapeake*, which we captured, were 18-pounder frigates. It was calculated by Commodore Stewart and Hull, who had taken two of our frigates, that a 74-gun ship was superior to two frigates, if not to three, proving how carefully the authorities of the United States looked into naval questions.

[*ARTHUR FANSHAWE, FLAG CAPTAIN TO SIR  
R. STOPFORD,*] *TO B. MARTIN.*

Princess Charlotte at anchor off Mitylene,  
August 11th, 1840.

My dear Sir Byam,—I did not mean to have been so long after parting from Henry<sup>2</sup> without writing to you, and whilst we were together I knew you would hear from him all that was to be said about us ; but moving about to new places and very hot weather have made me very idle with my pen. And now, as we are not likely to meet this August

<sup>1</sup> Which would then be unable to fight their heaviest guns, those on the lower deck.

<sup>2</sup> Captain H. B. Martin, commanding H.M.S. *Carysfort*.



as you expected, I want to put in a claim again for one of your agreeable letters. From the orders Sir Robert<sup>1</sup> has recently received it is pretty clear there is no intention, I think, of relieving him this year. The purport of those orders, and the terms of the Convention signed at London by the ministers of Austria, England, Russia, Prussia, and the Porte, I conclude are by this time known and we are beginning to act upon them, and the Admiral has despatched *Ganges* and *Thunderer* to reinforce Commodore Napier<sup>2</sup> on the coast of Syria, who had with him *Edinburgh*, *Castor* and *Cyclops*, and *Bellerophon* is gone off Alexandria to have the appearance of backing the Sultan's proposals to Mehemet Ali, which seem to be hard enough, and not quite consistent with England's former treatment of him, and are such as I cannot conceive he will submit to ; and that therefore the Admiral will very soon have to follow to the coast of Syria or Egypt with all the force he can collect, including the Austrian Squadron of 2 frigates and 3 corvettes under Admiral Bandiera, who is placed under Sir Robert's orders, and then, who can say what is to follow ?<sup>3</sup> Lord Ponsonby,<sup>4</sup> relying on the extent of the insurrection in Syria, is hot, eager, and urgent for coercing M[ehemet] Ali in every way, and carrying out the plans of the four Powers, which perhaps originated with himself. The Admiral is more cautious, and, I fancy, between ourselves, considers their instructions to have been grounded on the supposition that the Syrian insurgents would succeed, which we are led to believe they have by no means done, and that the prompt measures the old Pasha

<sup>1</sup> Sir Robert Stopford, Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean.

<sup>2</sup> The late Admiral Sir C. Napier, Commander-in-Chief in the Baltic, 1854.

<sup>3</sup> Acre soon followed—was captured November 3.

<sup>4</sup> Ambassador at Constantinople.

took to send reinforcements there by [now] have quelled the disturbances. Much latitude and discretion is left to him in the execution of some rather difficult and delicate work, but orders must be obeyed, and the terms of the convention acted upon, viz., to cut off communication with Egypt and Syria and Candia, to get possession of some strong point on the coast, to support the landing of Turkish troops, and to aid the insurgents, or rather population of Syria, with arms and ammunition, and if necessary to use force. This seems to be our part of the business, and if the Pasha,<sup>1</sup> as I expect, says No! the sooner we begin the better, for he is not a man to trifle with, and by so doing we may prevent much bloodshed; but then the French do not join, but we understand are to remain neuter—how long? They have 8 sail of the line in the Gulf of Smyrna, one just gone to Toulon to exchange Admiral Lalande for Admiral Hugon, 4 in the Bay of Tunis, i.e. 2 three-deckers and 11 heavy two-deckers at sea in the Mediterranean; and one three-decker and 2 two-deckers arming at Toulon. We have, supposing *Revenge* and *Cambridge* to have passed the Straits, one three-decker and 11 two-deckers (of which four are small old ships) to watch that force and the Turco-Egyptian fleet at Alexandria, which though numerous is not perhaps very efficient. I believe it amounts to 18 sail of the line and 15 or 16 large frigates (we have two frigates on the station, *Castor* and *Carysfort*), and the Admiral is to have 3 or 4 line-of-battle ships with some small ships at the mouth of the Dardanelles, ready to pass up if required by the Turkish Government, and co-operate with a Russian force from the Black Sea in the protection of Constantinople, in case Ibrahim Pasha should advance, as he has done before, from the confines of Syria,

<sup>1</sup> Mehemet Ali of Egypt.

lick the Turkish army and threaten the capital. Russia will be too glad, I dare say, to pour down her troops on the Bosphorus—but what will France say? An envoy from Constantinople, accompanied by one of Lord Ponsonby's attachés, went down to Egypt by steam two days ago to make known the terms to M[ehemet] Ali, and give him ten days to decide; and a small Turkish squadron with troops and arms has perhaps by this time left Constantinople, which will be escorted by [the] Asia<sup>1</sup> &c. to Cyprus, from whence it is to operate on the coast of Syria. We are waiting here now alone for this expedition to go down, and to collect and give orders to all the ships called up from the western parts of the station, as well as to get an idea of what move the French may make. Henry has been recalled from Barcelona to join us, supposing all was quiet there and the war over; but we hear of mob riots there, and of Espartero's exaltado acts putting the Queen in jeopardy, so perhaps he cannot be spared. Talbot left us to-day for Constantinople, and Daphne for Smyrna. Edward Fanshawe quite well, and he will join us in a day or two. These instructions have come very inopportunately for Sir Robert's plan of having a visit from Mary<sup>2</sup> and the girls, and is sending them up to Therapia, and eventually taking them back in October to Malta in the Princess Charlotte. He has never been able to persuade himself, or be persuaded, such a breeze as this might arise, and they are now at Athens in the Phœnix on their way to join him, and I believe he will wait here to receive them and, I hope, send them back pretty quickly to Malta, which will soon begin to cool. Thank God! I have very good accounts of my dear wife, and I cannot be too thankful to her for the patient, unrepining way she has submitted to all her

<sup>1</sup> Of 84 guns.<sup>2</sup> Lady Stopford.



solitude there for the chance of what few months we might be able to spend there together. Some of the captains' wives have followed them to Naples and Smyrna. Between ourselves, I expect there will be a breeze about it yet. Henry gave us a capital account of himself in his last letter, which I hope the captain of the *Magicienne* will confirm when she joins us. I need not ask about the health of a young man who frisks about to Epsom and Ascot; these are hard times and no prize money to be made, and I should like very much to have your book, which it is said was closed on the winning side some 1,000*l*. I am happy to say I can report pretty well of Sir Robert. I think he has felt some very hot weather we have had, and is perhaps not altogether pleased at the turn things have taken, which certainly does not promise to let him finish his command on a bed of roses. I feel anxious for our next mails from England and France. After we came up from Malta we were a fortnight at Vourla<sup>1</sup> and have since been cruising with 4 or 5 ships in the upper part of the Archipelago, which has been very little visited by the large ships. We anchored off Kavalla,<sup>2</sup> the birthplace of Mehemet Ali, and at the island of Thasos, and as we were coming down on the 1st of August stumbled fortunately on the *Acheron* with the Queen's messenger coming to us with these orders. Off the coast of Roumelia I think the heat was as great as I have ever experienced. We have just received on board a young commander named Elliot,<sup>3</sup> a son of Lord Minto's, who was a lieutenant of Talbot and just served his time, and on joining us found his commission and appointment to the *Hazard*, which he will wait here to join. Poor

<sup>1</sup> Near Smyrna.

<sup>2</sup> On the sea coast of Macedonia.

<sup>3</sup> The late Admiral of the Fleet Sir C. Elliot.

W. Glanville ! I wish your exertions for him had better success ; he is quite well and seems contented enough in his present easy berth. We expect Zebra<sup>1</sup> up from Malta this week. I am very glad to see a prospect of the boundary question being amicably settled ; we have quite enough on our hands at home and abroad without a squabble with Jonathan, and much more than our present ministers seem capable of managing. It is a great pity that they did not decide early in the spring the course they would pursue on this Eastern question, but I suppose they have been wasting time and endeavouring to get Thiers to join. In any active operations we want more frigates and steamers, and a depôt of coals at Cyprus or that vicinity ; but the Admiralty do not appear to have contemplated such things. Unfortunately, Sir Robert had just ordered the Belleisle to England in consequence of the report of her captain<sup>2</sup> of her bad qualities as a man-of-war, and being too much over-weighted. She has a teak main mast which weighs 12 tons more than her main mast should do, and a fore mast weighing 5 tons more, being the property of some larger ship at Plymouth, but so appropriated, I conclude, at the time when we heard so much of the abundance of masts, spars, and everything else in our yards. Never was the House of Commons more humbugged<sup>3</sup> on a naval question. However, I must not growl whilst in harness ; but I know you will be cautious about anything I might say to you. I shall send this to Wimpole Street, where I think it is most likely to find you, and I hope I shall soon have as

<sup>1</sup> Zebra, 10-gun brig, commanded by a son of Sir Robert Stopford.

<sup>2</sup> Toup Nicolas.

<sup>3</sup> There is no subject on which it has so frequently been humbugged.

good an account of Kitty as the last you gave me. My kind love to her and Willy—and all the off-sits—and to Glanvilles and Whites when you meet. I am afraid I must tax your packet with——

[The remainder of the letter was not attached to the portion copied from, and could not be found.]

*BURRARD NEALE<sup>1</sup> TESTIMONIAL COMMITTEE  
TO B. MARTIN.*

Lymington, Hants,  
August 29th, 1840.

Sir,—By desire of the committee of gentlemen for the testimonial to be erected in honour of and to perpetuate the memory of that deeply-lamented gentleman and distinguished officer, the late Admiral Sir Harry Burrard Neale (Baronet), of Walhampton, in this county,

I have the honour to inform you that the foundation for that memorial being complete, and preparation made for commencing the superstructure, it is the earnest wish and unanimous desire of the committee that the first stone should be laid by the oldest and most valued friend of the deceased ; and it is therefore their respectful request that you will do them the honour to perform that ceremony, which will take place on Tuesday, the 15th of September next.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,

Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

T. H. WILLIS, R.N., Hon. Secretary.

To Admiral Sir T. Byam Martin,  
G.C.B. &c. &c. &c.

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 152.



*B. MARTIN TO COMMITTEE, BURRARD  
NEALE TESTIMONIAL.*

August 31, 1840.

Dear Sir,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th instant, in which you inform me of ‘the earnest wish and unanimous desire of the committee of the Burrard Neale Testimonial that the foundation stone should be laid by the oldest and most valued friend of the deceased, and their request that I would perform that ceremony.’

Nothing can be more gratifying to my feelings than to be known as the friend of the late Sir H. Neale, and I may consider myself so far entitled to the distinction (and within the meaning of the resolution of the committee) that I can reckon more than half a century of an uninterrupted and warm friendship.

I refer to this long period of our intimacy with a lively recollection of Sir Harry’s truly estimable character; it is therefore no matter of surprise to me that persons of every class throughout a wide circle of his neighbourhood (and none more than the poor) should unite in one common desire to mark their sense of his public worth and private virtues.

Distant as I am from your part of the country, I hope nothing will prevent my joining in this last mark of public respect to the memory of one I so greatly esteemed and loved, and it is my intention to be at Lymington at the appointed time (the 15th of Sept.) to fulfil the mournful duty the committee have done me the honour to assign to me.

*LORD SIDMOUTH, 84 YEARS OF AGE,  
TO B. MARTIN.*

Clarendon Hotel, Sept. ye 9th, 1840.

My dear Sir,—If you should happen to be disengaged for to-morrow, will you favour me with your company at dinner? We dine at  $\frac{1}{2}$  p. six. You would meet the Dean of Norwich, a son of your old acquaintance, Lord Exmouth.

Believe me my dear Sir,  
Faithfully yours,  
SIDMOUTH.

Admiral Sir Byam Martin.

*CAPTAIN TOUP NICOLAS TO B. MARTIN.*

H.M.S. Belleisle,  
at Devonport, 16th Oct. 1840.

Dear Sir,—Although many years have passed away since I had the honour of your occasional correspondence on subjects connected with the service, yet at this moment, when your son, Captain [H. B.] Martin of the Carysfort, has been amongst those the most distinguished on the coasts of Syria, I hope I may be permitted to make known to you, having just come from the Mediterranean, the admiration with which the Carysfort is viewed by every officer that beholds her; in truth, in the best days of the late war I never saw a ship in finer order, or more smart in the performance of every evolution, and, as I remarked to many of my brother officers whilst she was with us at Vourla Bay, it gladdened one's heart to see a ship like the Carysfort, which we all felt confident would add honour to our colours whenever she had the opportunity of proving her force and superiority in every form. It was not my good fortune to make

your son's acquaintance until we met at Vourla; but I have felt that it would be gratifying to you to learn the facts which I have just stated from one who is almost a stranger to him personally, and whose anxious zeal for his lasting welfare will always make him wish that the navy may have all her ships like the Carysfort.

Believe me, dear Sir,  
Very faithfully yours,  
J. TOUP NICOLAS.

*ADMIRAL LORD COLCHESTER TO B. MARTIN.*

8 Great Cumberland Place,  
Tuesday, February 2 [1841].

My dear Sir Byam,—Lord Minto having given notice of his intention of moving the Thanks on next Thursday to Sir Robert Stopford and the officers and men under his command on the coast of Syria, I feel strongly inclined to take that opportunity, if it is not done by other hands, of recalling to the memory of the House the good previous services of Sir Robert, and expressing my hope that it is the intention of Ministers to recommend him for some signal mark of his Sovereign's favour, and not allow him to remain, as at present, the only officer of rank in his fleet unmarked by some public testimony of her approbation of his late services.

I do not, however, like to touch on this latter subject without some knowledge how far this would be agreeable to his family, and I therefore trouble you with this note to inquire whether you would wish them to have a hint that they ought to give Sir Robert a peerage, as he has already obtained by former services almost everything short of that distinction. His principal services, if I recollect



right, are, commanding a frigate in Lord Howe's action ; a line-of-battle ship in Lord Nelson's fleet when he pursued the French fleet to the West Indies ; a distinguished share in Sir J. Duckworth's action off St. Domingo ; and the command of the squadron which captured Java (in conjunction with the land forces). If I have omitted any which ought to be recorded I shall be extremely obliged to you to supply the deficiency. If it will be more convenient to you that I should call on you, I shall be happy to call on you either to-day or to-morrow (Wednesday) between two and three o'clock.

I remain,

My dear Sir Byam,

Very faithfully yours,

COLCHESTER.

*Answer.*

My dear Lord Colchester,—Your letter, just now received, is full of friendly and kind feeling towards Sir Robert Stopford, to whom a peerage would no doubt be very agreeable, but I have no authority to say so. I am sorry Captain Stopford, Sir Robert's eldest son, should have left England just at this moment : he sailed from Falmouth yesterday for Malta.

I think your statement comprehends the prominent features in Sir Robert's professional career.

Very truly yours,

T. B. M.

*BYAM MARTIN TO SIR JOHN BARROW.*

Wimpole Street, March 1st, 1841.

My dear Sir John,—I have only one letter book of each year kept out ; the others are mouldering in

a loft, and might possibly afford more information on the subject of the timber given by the Government for the repair of York Minster ; but the copy of the letter sent herewith seems to be the origin of the transaction, and will give you the date whereby, I have no doubt, you will be able to trace it in its more official course. I am convinced that every circumstance connected with the transaction was recorded in the Secretary's Office and the Store Office. Whether those records may have been swallowed up in the reform tempest which extinguished the Navy Office after I left it, I know not. In consequence of the inclosed letter to Lord Melville, York Minster was repaired with African timber ; but, to my infinite disappointment, it was supplied (without payment) from the King's stores, and not purchased in the market, as it ought to have been, by that richly endowed cathedral ; but I will not allow my days of tranquil repose to be disturbed by the recollection of all official growls.

If you think it worth while I will have my chests opened to search for further information ; but, as I have before said, the office at Somerset House and Woolwich Yard will give you every particular.

If at any time I can be useful in throwing any light upon my manifold sins as Comptroller of the Navy I shall always be most willingly at your service.

Very truly yours,  
T. BYAM MARTIN.

*SIR JOHN BARROW TO BYAM MARTIN.*

Admiralty, 1st March, 1841.

My dear Sir Byam,—The copy of your letter is sufficiently explanatory, and the only thing wanting

is, that Lord Melville did not make it a public instead of a private transaction, and left the papers in the Admiralty.

I understand that the present inquiry has been set on foot in consequence of a similar application being made to Lord Melbourne, in the repairs required for the second fire, and the wish of his lordship to know what was done in the first instance ; and he has been told that they certainly cannot be supplied with the Queen's stores without payment. Had he done otherwise and been attacked upon it, then indeed the sins of Lord Melville and yourself might have been brought forward in defence.

I am, my dear Sir Byam,  
Very truly yours,  
JOHN BARROW.

Admiral Sir Byam Martin, G.C.B.

*ADMIRAL SIR GRAHAM MOORE TO B. MARTIN  
ON THE NEALE MEMORIAL.*

Devonport, March 7, 1841.

My dear Martin, —You have a knack of expressing, in better and more distinct terms, the very opinions I hold, on some matters, than I could, so I shall assure you that I am entirely of your way of thinking respecting professional testimonials from the brethren of our departed friends. Foley I loved, as I did Neale ; and Keats, Hallowell, and Arthur Legge I ever felt the highest esteem and regard for ; but it is impossible not to see the strong objections, on that account, to what was done in the case of Malcolm and Duncan—the latter an attached friend—though, from fear of being misunderstood, I subscribed to the testimonials to the memory of



them both. I shall follow your example with regard to Lady Moore and myself; but though my boy felt all the value of Sir Harry's<sup>1</sup> kind notice of him, I will not put down anything in his name. Lord Seaton is a most intimate friend of mine and of my wife, and her brother, Lieut.-Col. John Eden, who was happy and fortunate enough to serve as Deputy Adjutant-General under him in Canada, is very desirous of following the fortunes of so distinguished and excellent a leader. If you wish it, I will have pleasure in introducing your son the Major to Lord Seaton, though I am aware of the number of old campaigners a man like him must have on his list, anxious to serve with him. I have this moment been interrupted by a letter from young John,<sup>2</sup> of the 19th of February, in the Carysfort at Malta, and one from Stopford at Vourla [Bay], of the 29th January, both entirely to my heartfelt satisfaction.

We are delighted with John's account of his ship, where he is perfectly happy, and where I am quite sure he must improve. There had been reports, which I did not believe, of Stopford's health having suffered; but his letter to me, and one Eden has from Captain Martin, sets my mind at ease on that head. I truly rejoice in Stopford having the prospect of winding up the latter part of his maritime career so comfortably and honourably to himself. I believe he is between two and three years younger than I am, but he seems to have preserved his mental and physical powers better than I have, for I feel very *journalier* (as the French say), and

<sup>1</sup> Admiral Sir Harry Burrard Neale, one of B. Martin's greatest friends; but on the principle he laid down in the Duncan case (see *ante* p. 133) he declined to subscribe to a testimonial. An example, it seems to me, to be followed; but on this there will be difference of opinion.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Captain John Moore, who died young: was Sir Graham's nephew.

subject to occasional depression. However, 'to each his sufferings all are men,' and I have no reason to complain of my lot. I do not like to see the old lads going off. They never can be replaced to you and me. My wife joins in love to you and yours, and we are ever your affectionate friends,

GRAHAM MOORE.

[*Copy.*]

ADMIRAL SIR G. COCKBURN TO B. MARTIN.

[*Private and Confidential.*] Carlton Club, Sept. 9th, 1841.

My dear Martin,—It not being deemed expedient that the alterations in the constitution of the Admiralty, about which we conversed when last I had the pleasure of meeting you, should now take place, I am induced to write to you on another though no less important point, upon which immediate decision is necessary—namely, the command in the Mediterranean, which is at this moment of the highest possible importance. The fleet there consists of sixteen or seventeen sail of the line, and matters of great political consequence are necessarily entrusted to the Admiral holding that command. I know of no officer of our service more capable to execute so important a charge with advantage to the country and honour to himself as you.

The whole Government agreeing with me in this opinion, your nomination to the command in question would be agreeable to all of them, and, I need scarcely add, particularly so to me, owing to the entire confidence I could place in you. I therefore lose no time in writing to ask you privately if you can make it suit your views to undertake that service ; and should (as I hope) your reply be in the affirmative, Lord Haddington will immediately address you officially, as the First Lord, on the subject.

I really think the fine dry air of Malta might prove beneficial to Lady Martin's health, and also may tend to keep from you any return of your old enemy the rheumatism. I trust, therefore, I shall get from you an acceding answer, and with my best regards to Lady Martin,

Believe me always, my dear Martin,

Yours very sincerely,

G. COCKBURN.

Direct to me at the Admiralty, as we take our seats to-morrow.

*B. MARTIN TO SIR GEORGE COCKBURN.*

York, September 10th, 1841.

My dear Cockburn,—The friendly and very flattering expressions you address to me respecting the Mediterranean command gratify me much.

The proposition comes in a very tempting and encouraging form, since you tell me it would be agreeable to the Government, and to yourself especially, that I should accept that important charge. I must, however, without hesitation, ask the favour of you to stand between Lord Haddington and myself, so that I may not have the mortification to decline service when officially offered to me. I shall be exceedingly sorry to receive any such proposal, as I feel that circumstances, personal to myself, would oblige me to decline it.

I have been moving about in the manufacturing districts, and intend to go on Monday, the 13th, to Leamington for a few weeks.

I am ever, my dear Cockburn,

Most sincerely yours,

T. BYAM MARTIN.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Admiral Sir Edward Owen was appointed.



CAPTAIN SIR JOHN ROSS, CONSUL-GENERAL  
AT STOCKHOLM, TO B. MARTIN.

Stockholm, 22nd Sept., 1841.

My dear Sir Byam,—I have great pleasure in offering my congratulations on the late happy events which have taken place both at home and abroad, and which I trust will call you into active service, and I hope into the command which has been so gloriously held by the gallant veteran Stopford. I need scarcely add how happy I should be to have again the honour of serving under your command;<sup>1</sup> and I am sure, if you would kindly apply for me, it would not be refused, while it would rescue me from this idle life. My constitution (of iron) is quite proof against the severity of this climate, but I regret to say that my wife has not been able to stand it. She is now on her way to Scotland, and I fear will not be able to return here. I was requested to come to Stockholm, and to have my eyes about me, two and a half years ago, when things were not so quiet in appearance as they are now in the north. It was perfectly understood that I was to have, in addition to my salary, which was reduced, my half pay, to which I was entitled by the existing regulations; but my enemy<sup>2</sup> at the Admiralty, together with the fact of my having voted (I am sure conscientiously) in favour of the conservative candidate at the election, had the effect of stopping my half pay, thereby rendering my present situation little better than if I had no employment. I am sorry to say that the English

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Ross served under B. Martin in Baltic in 1812; his knowledge of the language was very useful in our co-operation with the Swedish fleet.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Sir John Barrow, Permanent Secretary of the Admiralty, is meant; see *ante*, p. 131.

interest in this country is on the decline, and unless some more popular minister is sent here we shall soon have the Swedes as enemies. The minister is a very clever man and very civil to me, but as he does not launch out in the way his predecessors did he has become unpopular. I have by this opportunity sent a full account both of the royal and merchant navy, and also of the officers, to Sir George Cockburn. The old officers are all gone—Admiral Lagerbjelke, who commanded the *Eurydice* frigate in 1808–9, is now a vice-admiral and minister of the marine; and Vice-Admiral Nordenskiöld, who was then a lieutenant in the flag-ship, is now vice-admiral and commander-in-chief at Carlskrona.<sup>1</sup> The Swedes have now ten sail of the line: one is to be cut down to a 46-gun frigate, and two others are unserviceable; one large frigate of 60 guns, six of 46, one of 36, three corvettes, six brigs and schooners, nine steamers (including packets and one frigate size of the *Medea*), sixty-four first-class gun-boats carrying a 72-pounder, 112 second-class carrying 24-pounders, and about fifty small craft, armed boats, &c. The most remarkable invention here is a gun to load by the breech on an entire new and simple principle, and I have seen fifty shot fired, at the rate of three in a minute, without any derangement or escape of fire or smoke from the breech of a French 24-pounder; and I have persuaded Baron Wahrendorff to construct one and take it to Woolwich, and he will set out with it next month. The French, Americans, and Prussians have ordered several guns of different calibres, and the Swedes one 72-pounder, which will put it best to the proof. I have written to Sir Hugh Ross on the subject, but he is of course sceptical.

<sup>1</sup> Their principal naval port.

I hope that Lady Martin and all your family are well. Lady Ross desires to join me in kindest compliments to her ladyship, and I remain,

My dear Sir Byam,

Very faithfully yours,

JOHN ROSS.

You would be glad to hear of my nephew Capt. J. C. Ross's complete success in the Antarctic regions!

<sup>1</sup> Russia in the Baltic	.	.	30	of the line
France	„	„	47	„
Denmark	„	„	8	„
America	„	„	10	„
Holland	„	„	8	„
			103	
			10	Sweden
			113	

When I left the Navy Office we had 80 sail of the line in good condition, including those in commission.

*ADMIRAL BOWLES TO B. MARTIN.*

My dear Sir Byam,—I read last night, with equal interest and attention, your most able and excellent paper.<sup>2</sup>

If the Admiralty are as strongly impressed, as I should think they must be by this time, with the necessity of a change of system, they ought not to delay the adoption of a plan which you have so perfectly arranged for them, and which can (be) so economically effected.

<sup>1</sup> This to conclusion is in B. Martin's writing.

<sup>2</sup> There is no copy of this paper.



It is by improvements of this description that Sir R. Peel's Government ought to secure public confidence as well as parliamentary support, without waiting for the suggestions of his opponents.

Yours very truly,  
WM. BOWLES.

Thursday, Dec. 2nd, 1841.

*B. Martin's Minute of Conversation with Lord Haddington, First Lord of Admiralty.*

Jan. 3rd, 1842.

I received a note from Lord Haddington appointing me to come to him the next day on some matters he was anxious to see me about.

After telling me in very kind terms that my nephew, Capt. Glanville, should be immediately appointed to the St. Vincent, and expressing surprise that I should for a moment entertain an idea that such an appointment could be designed as in any way affecting his desire to serve my son, he said, 'How could you possibly suppose such a thing?' I thanked him for speaking so frankly and kindly on the subject, and that I felt greatly obliged by the appointment of Capt. Glanville under such an assurance. (Capt. Hamilton<sup>1</sup> told me the day before that Glanville's appointment had no reference whatever to what had passed respecting my son; it was an accidental knowledge that Glanville was my nephew that made Lord H. glad of the opportunity to show his desire to show me attention at all times. It

<sup>1</sup> Captain Baillie Hamilton, private secretary to Lord Haddington, who succeeded Sir John Barrow as permanent secretary to the Admiralty, and after whom Port Hamilton was named by Sir Edward Belcher, who surveyed it when commanding H.M.S. Samarang about 1843.

was from Hamilton that Lord H. heard of my apprehensions.) After this Lord H. said he would ask me to retire to his private room in the house, as he wished to converse with me on some important matters without the risk of being disturbed by people coming into his office room. We went accordingly to his private house, and he then proceeded to state, with reference to my papers on the subject of promotion (which at his request I put into his hands last summer), that he was disposed to act in a great measure upon my suggestions ; but as they bore date prior to the sitting of the Naval and Military Commission there were parts of my proposal in which he concurred, but which could not be adopted without upsetting the recommendation of the Commission which had been approved and adopted by her Majesty's command, and he thought it would be wrong and offensive to that Commission to propose anything contrary to what they had decided upon with regard to flag promotions. There were other parts of the plan, he said, which might be carried into execution, and that, as I had given much attention to the subject, and he believed me to be as unprejudiced a man as any in the service, he was anxious for my unreserved opinion of what he had to propose, observing that naval officers generally had upon professional subjects a great degree of prejudice which made it difficult to get a fair opinion, and that he was much disposed to rely upon my judgment, not having consulted his colleagues or hinted at it, as I understood, except to one of them. He was particularly anxious, he said, to avoid doing anything that would be felt by the officers as an annoyance, but at the same time to make the real interests of the service his first consideration.

He said his plan was to give a retirement to 150 captains out of the first 250 on the list, who

should have pensions to the amount of 20s. a day, and by this process to clear the list of the persons who may be by age or infirmity unfit for the service, reserving to the Admiralty the power of a veto ; but that, having once invited officers to accept such retirement, it would be hard to turn round and say, ' You shall not have the offered benefit.' I said (I) thought they ought not to part with men who were likely to be valuable to the service, and that the Admiralty must exercise their judgment about it. I doubted getting 150 out of the first 250, and as there were some infirm and elderly men lower down, I did not see the necessity for any limits, but to let voluntary retirement be open to any captains the Admiralty might choose to part with, and that I quite agreed to the necessity of such weeding.

He then said, with respect to getting at young, active, and intelligent men for commands, there could be no way of doing it but by reverting partially to the rule established in 1747, and subsequently acted upon, namely, the selection of captains to be promoted to their flags at the discretion of the Admiralty—that is, to bring junior captains over the heads of the seniors, but still leaving in force the recommendation of the Commission that officers shall be brought indiscriminately on the flag list. Lord H. said, ' Do you think such an arrangement would be felt in the service in a manner to make it objectionable ? '—that, in doing what might be needful for the public interest, he would be sorry to distress the feelings of officers. I said it was indispensably necessary that the Admiralty should have the power to get at the services of any particular officer whom they might have reason to think particularly qualified for high command ; that this was what no officer would hesitate to admit ; but the officers would say, ' If such be your object it is easily attain-



able—make a promotion to include the man you want, and then you employ him as an admiral in any situation you please.’ ‘Yes,’ said Lord H., ‘but then we are met by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who says we cannot submit to such an expense with a revenue unequal to the expenditure, owing to the unfortunate state of our manufactures.’ I replied that, ‘Desirable as it is to enforce a rigid economy, the navy must be the exception to such a rule, and I most strongly urge you to think of the position of this country and the peril we incur if for an instant we neglect to uphold the power and efficiency of the navy or spare expense in giving the utmost protection to our ports to guard against any surprise or invasion by an enemy. Look what the French are doing at St. Malo and at Cherbourg. It is as plain as if the intention had been published, that all this is with a design to the invasion of this country, and our chief defence must rest upon the steamers lining our coast and the means which may be taken for their speedy assembling at any given point, which I think may be done by Professor Wheatstone’s electric telegraph.’ Here our conversation turned upon the improving the ports along the coast, which I said was highly desirable. Lord H. remarked that Beaufort had proposed doing a great deal at Dover, upon which I remarked that enormous sums had been expended there to get rid of the shingle when it accumulated, which I thought injudicious, and that the money would have been better spent in extending the pier, as recommended by Smeaton in 1765, and that Capt. Beaufort would never be able to make Dover a harbour for general use until vessels could feel confident that it might be approached at all times.

We then turned to the subject of selecting officers for the flag list, and I observed that it had

given great offence in 1787 when acted upon (that plan which was then the rule of the service), and that the weight of public opinion on the occasion alluded to, and the minister (Mr. Pitt) concurring in the evident prejudices which marked the selection, Lord Howe resigned his office ; but the officers who were passed over—Thompson, Bourmaster, Uvedale and others—were not promoted. I said it was a dangerous power to entrust to the Admiralty, and now more than ever so, when party feeling and its common attendant ‘jobbing’ was carried on so injuriously to the service—that I made the allusion without meaning offence to any one ; at the same time I would not hesitate to say that the late Board of Admiralty had acted very improperly on some occasions in the use of their patronage, and that such a power required to be watched with great jealousy. I thought there ought to be a reference to the Queen’s undoubted prerogative to promote whom she pleases in the army and navy, and that the principle of selection for promotion, so long the practice in the service, as at any time to be partially reverted to, the selection ought to have a greater formality in the proceeding than the ordinary authority of the Admiralty, that I thought the Admiralty should be required to submit to the Cabinet ministers the name or names of officers so to be brought forward, with reasons for such a departure from the general rule of the service, and that, if approved by the Cabinet, it should be submitted to the Sovereign as a Cabinet measure.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Departure from the rule of the service as to flag rank being attained by seniority as captains must under any circumstances give rise to much jealousy and heart-burning on the part of those passed over, very prejudicial to the interests of the public service, as is the case in the French navy, where admirals are selected from the list of captains irrespective of seniority. The late

Lord H. thought this a great improvement, and he individually as First Lord would be delighted to get rid of the great responsibility which would otherwise rest upon him. The conversation continued some time, when Lord H. asked if I would have any objection to write him a letter on the subject, such as he might place before his colleagues in the Cabinet. I said certainly if he wished it, but recommended that he should commit to writing the precise points upon which he would desire my opinion, to which he readily agreed.

This is as nearly as possible what passed between us.

*LORD HADDINGTON TO B. MARTIN.*

[*Private and confidential.*]

Admiralty, January 9th, 1842.

My dear Sir Byam,—I lose no time in profiting by your obliging willingness to put upon paper your opinion on the important subject of our conversation a few days ago.

I will put my questions to you at once.

I assume that it is right that the Crown should have the power of commanding the service of any officer of post rank by promoting him to the flag should it be conceived that the public interest required it.

Admiral Gore Jones told me a French naval officer observed to him: 'What I like in your navy is, your captains are a band of brothers. They dine together, go ashore together. It is not so with us. We are always trying to supplant one another, as flag rank is by selection.' In the United States Navy promotion by seniority is the rule—only departed from, and rarely, in war time.

Another case is that of Sir G. Rooke, who resigned his command when his captain of the fleet was passed over, and a junior captain promoted to the flag list. The injustice was removed by Wishart being promoted to his proper position.

Nelson's appointment to the Nile Squadron gave rise to great jealousy amongst his seniors.



In order to invest the Crown with this power, would it be better to restore the unfettered right of selection without regard to seniority, and should this recurrence to the original practice be accompanied by a provision for the promotion of old officers passed over to a retired list of Rear-Admirals as heretofore, or should this also be left to the discretion of the Crown?

Or

would it be the wiser and juster course to adhere to seniority as the principle, only restoring the power of such occasional selection as the exigency of the Service might from time to time seem to demand? If so, how could the exercise of this power be best provided for, so as to prevent abuses and (if possible) even the suspicion of abuse?<sup>1</sup>

My first questions suppose selection to be the rule, with or without some absolute qualification in favour of seniority.

The last supposes seniority to continue the rule as at present, with power however to select as occasion might require.<sup>2</sup>

As the basis of the whole I have assumed that the Crown ought to have some power of selection. I do not mean by that assumption to preclude you from any observations adverse to it. I made it for the purpose of bringing my questions clearly before you.

I purposely abstain from giving any opinion or stating impressions of my own.

Believe me to be, my dear Sir Byam,

Most sincerely yours,

HADDINGTON.

<sup>1</sup> An impossibility almost.

<sup>2</sup> A power which naval officers, as a body I believe, have always supposed the Crown to possess, as it has of dispensing with the services of an officer without stating reason. The advisability of exercising it is another subject.

The Admiralty having published their offer of retirement, this injunction<sup>1</sup> may be considered at an end, but as yet, except Admiral Bowles, no one has ever seen the correspondence. I have written to Lord H. to have my other papers returned.

ADMIRAL SIR GRAHAM MOORE TO B. MARTIN.

Bristol Hotel, Brighton, Oct. 2nd, 1842.

My dear Martin,—Thanks for your letter from Harrowgate, which caught me at Brook Farm the day before we started for this, which was yesterday. We were obliged to leave the house to the painters for a fortnight, much against my will, as I am now degenerated to be qualified to be President of the Never Wag Society. I wish this may capture you before you see Curzon, for whom I have always had a great esteem and regard, which you may tell him, if you like, though I fear I used to be rather more of a blackguard than he approved of when we were messmates in the old Adamant.

I give you *carte blanche* to assure him how much I am reformed since those days. I inquired after him from Bob Curzon when I was last in town. There are not many of that mess now in existence besides him and me, if any. We must be, at least, a fortnight away, and I intend to pass it here, as this place is a very favourite one of my wife, and you know that decides the matter. You are a young fellow and may go anywhere (I think) either by sea or land, but I am, in spite of your flattery, very shaky. It annoys me to feel my powers decay, mentally and bodily ; but I have no right to grumble, neither do I. You are now almost my only correspondent, and I used to have many. It is half a

<sup>1</sup> 'Private and confidential' as headed.



day's work now to write a letter. I am quite of your opinion about Government employing young men when there is real work to be done; still, it is not easy to adopt and to adhere to such a rule in practice. There are not many of the flag officers fit to serve at sea. I had some remorse of conscience in asking even for a port command, and, in fact, it would perhaps have been honester if I had continued to vegetate at Brook Farm. I had entertained some hope of finding you here, which would have cheered me up not a little. As to my friend, young John Moore, I hope he goes on pretty well, though he has met with so much kindness from many of my old friends as was enough to have spoilt him. I believe, however, he has strength of character to preserve him against that. I own I did not wish him to go either to India or the coast of Africa, and it was chiefly, if not entirely, to secure the Mediterranean station for him that I asked Owen to take him, and when once there I was glad to get him moved into the first active ship that offered; so I think I was right.

He has not, at present, the faintest prospect of getting on the post list as a young man, but I had much worse at his age. I write now in gratitude for your most welcome letter, and not from having any cut-and-dried matter to communicate, for I am dull and foggy this morning, which is now often the case with me, but I am as much attached to my old friends as ever, though sad to see them dropping off too fast. My wife joins in love to Lady Martin and yourself, and I remain ever, my dear Byam Martin,

Yours affectionately,

GRAHAM MOORE.<sup>1</sup>

Admiral Sir T. Byam Martin, G.C.B.

<sup>1</sup> He died November 25, 1843.



CAPTAIN SIR T. HASTINGS, GOVERNOR OF  
THE R.N. COLLEGE, TO B. MARTIN.

Royal Naval College, Feb. 9, 1844.

My dear Admiral,—It will at all times be a pleasure to me to attend to any wish of yours. In whatever way Mr. Henry Vernon may require my assistance, I will readily afford it, as far as may be proper, and I hope he will feel quite at ease in applying to me.

I wrote a few days ago to congratulate your son,<sup>1</sup> my friend, on his appointment to Camperdown. I look on it as a real benefit to the service, that the command of the flagship at Sheerness is placed in the hands of an officer who so well knows the service and who is so devoted to it. But there is one point on which I can never be unmindful—his more than friendly kindness, nay, brotherly attention to me, when he was good enough to bring me home in the Samarang when I was in a sad suffering state, and must have been much in his way. I may to you venture to say that I never saw a more perfect man-of-war than that ship, whether at sea or in harbour, and her gunnery excelled that of any ship then on the Mediterranean station. Favour me by accepting my best wishes, and believe me with respect and esteem,

Faithfully yours,  
THOMAS HASTINGS.

*Remark in B. Martin's handwriting.*

When Rear-Admiral Parker had inspected the Samarang preparatory to paying off, he was about

<sup>1</sup> The late Sir W. F. Martin, G.C.B.

to leave the ship, accompanied by Captain Hyde Parker and Captain Deans Dundas, when one of the captains suggested to the admiral to order Captain Martin to shift one of the topsails. He was asked which it should be. The admiral replied, 'The main topsail.' At the time the order was given the spare sail was in the sail room; it was bent, sheeted home, and hoisted in six minutes. The admiral, who marked the time with his own watch, expressed his admiration of the good arrangements which prevailed throughout the ship.

*ADMIRAL SIR J. WHITE, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF  
AT THE NORE, TO BYAM MARTIN.*

Sheerness, 23rd May [1844].

My dear Martin,—I have been this morning inspecting the *Camperdown* previous to her going to the Nore next Monday, and I cannot help telling you how much I have been gratified by the order and respectable appearance of her crew and the very efficient state in which she had been brought by the zeal and assiduity of her captain and officers.

For their numbers I don't know that I ever saw a better and more sailorlike-looking ship's company, and what is more apparent a happier set of fellows. William is well seconded by a respectable set of officers, and his gunnery lieutenant, Ewart,<sup>1</sup> is quite a treasure in his station.

Fisher<sup>2</sup> tells me he is to join you on Monday at Weymouth. I think he appears somewhat better in

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Vice-Admiral Ewart.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Fisher, Captain Superintendent of Sheerness Dock-yard; died August 28, 1844.

health for his absence from the dockyard. Kind love from me and Charlotte to you all.

Ever, my dear Martin,

Very affectionately,

JOHN C. WHITE.

So poor Courtenay Boyle<sup>1</sup> (my old schoolfellow at Greenwich) is gone at last!

*ADMIRAL BOWLES TO BYAM MARTIN.*

Admiralty, July 1st, 1845.

My dear Sir Byam,—Will you look at the accompanying essay and give me your candid opinion whether it is worth printing or not? After seeing it in type my mind misgives me, but I nevertheless feel very strongly the importance of the subject and the necessity of exciting attention towards it.

Yours very truly,

WM. BOWLES.

[*Copy.*]

*B. MARTIN TO ADMIRAL BOWLES, A LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY.*

July 2, 1845.

My dear Bowles,—I have read your little essay with attention, and find in it much just comment as well in the way of warning as of example to those to be hereafter entrusted with high command, and the advice you give is excellent.

You cannot appeal to any member of the naval service on the subject of your essay without receiving full credit for an ardent desire to perform a

<sup>1</sup> Vice-Admiral the Honourable Sir Courtenay Boyle; died May 21, 1844.



useful service to your country and your profession ; there can be but one feeling on that point. My apprehension, however, is that so laudable a desire cannot be brought to bear in the shape of a pamphlet, without being as useful to the gentlemen on the other side of the water as to us ; it will tell them, under the sanction of a Lord of the Admiralty, of what will be our plan of operation, and thus prepare [them to] counteract the design, or to [frustrate]<sup>1</sup> the mode of attack suggested. The limitation to a private distribution of the copies will be no security against their crossing the Channel : it may occasion a little delay—that is all.

I think a Lord of the Admiralty scarcely warranted under any circumstances, however good the matter and the motive, in publishing his private opinion on professional subjects, and assuredly no such step ought to be taken without the concurrence of his colleagues.

I speak, as I am sure you wish, without reserve, as I speak to a friend who I would wish should act as I would desire to act myself with respect to any public measure, as well as with reference to my associates in office.

Your own good judgment will determine what weight is due [to these] considerations, and whether [it will] not be best to place your paper before Lord Haddington,<sup>2</sup> and let him put it before the Board, to be disposed of in accordance with the general feeling of your colleagues.

The theory of fleet movements may be beyond all dispute good, but practically great changes in the

<sup>1</sup> A corner torn off, but from space and one or two letters left, I consider the words I give are most probably correct. The correspondence is another proof of the uneasy feeling as to our weakness at this period.

<sup>2</sup> First Lord of Admiralty.

position of ships when closing upon an enemy may occasion dangerous confusion, and expose the attacking fleet to serious disadvantage. I say this with reference to your proposal in page 14. I have seen a fleet thrown into the utmost disorder by one bungling junior admiral in command of a division, and a bungling captain in making no very perplexing movement, and not in the presence of an enemy.

The best-imagined modes of attack may often be disappointed by a sudden change of wind or by an altered disposition of the enemy,<sup>1</sup> and if such a movement for the eye<sup>2</sup> well practised seamen to take of such chops and changes.

Ever, my dear Bowles,

Most sincerely yours,

T. BYAM MARTIN.

P.S.—I return the essay because you do not authorise me to keep it.

*ADMIRAL BOWLES TO B. MARTIN.*

Admiralty, July 3, 1845.

Many thanks, my dear Sir Byam, for your very kind and friendly answer to my request.

I have taken your advice implicitly, and locked up my essay, which nobody except yourself has seen, and of which no other copy exists.

Yours very sincerely,

WM. BOWLES.

<sup>1</sup> In the relief of Gibraltar by Lord Howe, in 1782, a memorable instance occurred.—Barrow's *Life of Howe*.

<sup>2</sup> Illegible: the meaning is evidently that the most experienced seaman of the two leaders will have the best chance of gaining an advantage.

*MEMO. IN B. MARTIN'S WRITING.*[*Private.*]

July 1845.

On Thursday, the 10th instant, Admiral Bowles came to me to say the question of retirement and selection of officers from the captains' list to be promoted to their flag over the head of senior captains had been under discussion at Sir Robert Peel's in the presence of the Board of Admiralty, Sir James Graham and others.

Admiral Bowles said he had protested against it, and would in no way be a party to a measure which he thought so objectionable and so unjust to the Service, and that he would retire rather than accede to it.

Adml. B. came to me to ask my opinion on the subject, and if I had any memo. upon it. I told him Lord Haddington had applied to me for my opinion in 1842, that I did not recollect exactly what I had said, but that I had expressed myself decidedly adverse to the measure of selection. He asked if I would let him see anything I had on the subject, and such a request from one with whom I am so intimate, a Lord of the Admiralty and professing the same aversion to the measure as myself, I thought at the moment it might be useful to lend him my papers, and therefore with more frankness than prudence I promised to do so.

At the moment it did not occur to me that Lord Haddington's letter was marked 'Private and confidential,' or I certainly would not have parted with it to anyone, not even to his own colleague in office.

I wrote to Adml. Bowles on the 12th—

My dear Bowles,—It only just now occurs to me that Lord Haddington's note proposing questions respecting selection of captains for the flag list is



marked 'Private and confidential,' and I am startled at the thought of not acting with good faith by allowing my answer to go from me, but you are the only person who has seen it, and I am sure it is as safe in your hands as my own.

Yours, &c.

The above is strictly the purport of my note, and I think almost verbatim.

On Sunday, the 13th, Admiral Bowles again called and told me the business was settled, and that the notion of coupling the power of selection with the Order in Council for the voluntary retirement of officers was abandoned, that he had said much at the meeting, and was sorry he had not read a paper he had prepared on the subject; adding that he was preparing a letter to Lord Haddington on the subject, and that he had come to me to know where I had my authority for quoting an Order in Council of 1718, adding that it could not be found in the Admiralty.

Admiral Bowles did not ask permission to make any notes from my letter, but I cannot but fear it has been freely used in preparing his own, which I have no doubt will go forward to Sir Robert Peel. I thought the Admiral seemed to acquiesce in my opinion that as the matter had been settled by the abandonment of the plan of selection it was a pity to say more. I much regret that I allowed the paper to go out of my hands.

The Admiral returned the papers on the 14th without any note—he had on receiving them written me in complimentary terms of the interesting character of the papers.

In our first conversation the Admiral told me Sir James Graham declared he would never consent to the retirement unless coupled with a power to select

officers for their flag. He thought Sir G. C. [Cockburn] rather inclined to favour the scheme.

In our second conversation he said Captain Gordon,<sup>1</sup> of the Admiralty, had given in a very strong protest against selection.

T. B. M.

July 14th, 1845.

I gave Admiral B. the particulars of the Order in Council of 1718, and it has since been traced at the Admiralty.

I am sorry to say these papers alluded to are missing.

T. B. M.

Oct. 1847.

I lent them to Admiral Dundas and have never since seen them. I greatly regret the loss of them.<sup>2</sup>

*B. MARTIN TO CAPT. THE HON. R. S. DUNDAS.*

Monks Ferry Hotel, Birkenhead, Cheshire,

July 25th, 1845.

My dear Captain Dundas,<sup>3</sup>—I see in the 'Morning Herald' of Wednesday the promulgation of the scheme of voluntary retirement, which I hope will have all the success desired, and that amongst its benefits we shall see your flag flying while you have years of vigour to fly it with satisfaction to yourself and advantage to the country. You are older now

<sup>1</sup> Captain the Honourable William Gordon, a Lord of the Admiralty 1841-46, Commander-in-Chief at Sheerness 1854-55.

<sup>2</sup> This prevents B. Martin's own views being given.

<sup>3</sup> Private Secretary to Lord Haddington.

than your grand uncle<sup>1</sup> was when he had white at the mizen at Quebec.

There are two papers of mine on the subject of retirement, &c., in Lord Haddington's possession, and being my own clerk I was so lazy as to part with them without copy. If his lordship has no occasion for these documents I shall [be glad] to have them, as they belong to a series of naval papers. I am here full of occupation looking at the wonders of this most wonderful neighbourhood, and shall remain some days longer.

It is quite delightful to see the spirit and energy with which works of inhuman magnitude are carried on by private companies on both sides the river. They know that when a work is once decided on it is good economy to complete it without delay, and, there being no stint of money, swarms of men are employed in every direction upon the new docks.<sup>2</sup>

Yours very sincerely,

T. BYAM MARTIN.

*ADMIRAL DEANS DUNDAS TO B. MARTIN.*

A.O. July 27/46.

My dear Admiral,—In confidence I send you my proposition for the retirement—you will oblige me by giving me your opinion of it.

Yours faithfully, in great haste,

J. W. DUNDAS.

Adam<sup>3</sup> just arrived.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Charles Saunders, Commander-in-Chief at the capture of Quebec, 1759.

<sup>2</sup> One of the advantages a large private company possesses, as they have no treasury to thwart them at every turn, as is the case with Government departments.

<sup>3</sup> Admiral Sir Charles Adam, G.C.B., then joining as First Naval Lord.



*Admiral Dundas*—Sending me the plan of promotion and retirement as considered by the Admiralty.

To their plans for the most part I objected, and my objections prevailed.

T. M.

*Minute of a Conversation with Lord Sidmouth,  
in B. Martin's handwriting.*

Leamington, Sept. 15, 1846.

Lord Sidmouth told me that, when Mr. Pitt resigned in consequence of George III.'s inflexible opposition to the Papist emancipation, he withdrew from the King's service with a perfectly good feeling between them on every other point, and his Majesty greatly lamented the loss of Mr. Pitt's services. It was on this occasion Mr. Pitt said he would propose Mr. Addington as his successor, and when introduced to the closet by Mr. Pitt he said : ' I have ventured to name Mr. Addington as the most proper person to form an administration, and believing him to be the person the most acceptable to your Majesty.' ' If you leave me, the wish nearest my heart is that Mr. Addington should succeed. He is everything I could desire, and though I have no longer the benefit of your services, Mr. Pitt, if we three draw together for the public good (laying his hand on each of their arms) the country will go on prosperously.'

Lord Sidmouth, during so many years of intimate intercourse with George III., never heard a word escape him of ribaldry or anything that might not be related in the most chaste society (which is more than can be said of any of his sons), nor did he ever hear the King utter a sentiment that was not honourable to him as a prince and a patriot.

In conversation one day, speaking of some proceeding of Mr. Fox and of the abilities he possessed, George III. replied, 'Yes, but I like to see the heart stand in purity in advance of such abilities.'

Nothing ever astonished or distressed Mr. Addington more than Mr. Pitt's sudden and unaccountable abandonment of his administration, and his union with Mr. Fox for the expulsion of the Addingtons—it was a proceeding discreditable to Pitt, and which he certainly felt to be unwarranted. Pitt could not endure the conduct of Lord St. Vincent<sup>1</sup> and the Admiralty, and it was this that determined him to force them from office, even though their fall might bring down those for whom he professed a great regard. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington had lived in the greatest intimacy, and Mr. A. speaks of him still with the greatest admiration and respect. They became friends again at no distant time through the first Lord Liverpool.

*B. MARTIN TO SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.*

53 Wimpole Street, April 30th, 1847.

Sir,—Lord Auckland has made me acquainted with her Majesty's gracious approval of my nomination as Rear-Admiral of the United Kingdom, on the recommendation of the First Lord of the Treasury.

I regard the appointment as one of the greatest distinctions a naval officer can receive, but, while I thus value the compliment, I beg to decline the

<sup>1</sup> Pitt might have felt the reform Lord St. Vincent inaugurated a reproach to his own neglect. The report of 'The Commission of Naval Enquiry' is a complete defence of its necessity, whatever may be said of the manner or rather want of manners of the Board of Admiralty in carrying it out.

emolument attached to the appointment, as I am at the present time in the receipt of a pension for my services during sixteen years as Comptroller of the Navy.

I have therefore to beg you will submit to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury my request that their lordships will be pleased to signify their directions that the pay of Rear-Admiral of the United Kingdom may be withheld from me.

I am, Sir, your very  
T. BYAM MARTIN, Admiral.

The Secretary of the Treasury.

This leaves £28 short of my former salary.

T. B. M.

It has been said by some good-natured people that I gave up the emolument of this appointment because, having a pension, the Act of Parliament would not allow me to keep it; but the reverse is the fact—the Act expressly sanctions receiving the pay, and I gave it up purely because I thought, with a pension of £830 besides my half pay, I could not in delicacy and propriety keep it.

The Superannuation Act is as follows:—

20th clause: ‘Provided always, in case any person enjoying the superannuation allowance in consequence of retiring from office, or enjoying any compensation for such services, shall be appointed to fill any office in any public department, every such allowance or compensation shall cease to be paid for any period subsequent to such appointment if the annual amount of the profits of the office to which he is appointed shall be equal to those he formerly held; and in case they shall not be equal to those of his former office, then no more of such superannuation shall be paid to him



than what *with the salary* of his new appointment shall be equal to that of his former office.'

My former office as Comptroller of the Navy was . . . . .		£2,000
My pension is . . . . .	£830	} £1,972
Half pay (which properly need not be included) . . . . .	£762	
Pay as Rear-Admiral of the United Kingdom . . . . .	£380	
	£1,972	£28

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY TO B. MARTIN.

Treasury Chambers, 5 May, 1847.

Sir,—I am commanded by the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th ultimo, stating that Lord Auckland had made you acquainted with her Majesty's gracious approval of your nomination as Rear-Admiral of the United Kingdom, on the recommendation of the First Lord of the Treasury, and observing that while you value the appointment as one of the greatest distinctions a naval officer can receive, you decline the emolument attached to it, as you are at present in receipt of a pension for your services during sixteen years as Comptroller of the Navy.

And I am desired to state that this decision is considered to be highly to your honour, and to inform you that a copy of your letter and of this reply will be forwarded to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your very obedient servant,

E. TREVELYAN.

Admiral Sir Byam Martin, &c. &c. &c.

*B. MARTIN ON LORD DUNDONALD'S CASE.<sup>1</sup>*[*Memorandum.*]

May 7th, 1847.

In consequence of a note from Lord Auckland of this date desiring to see me at the Admiralty, I waited upon his lordship at the appointed time.

He said he wished to have some conversation with me upon a matter he had under consideration respecting Lord Dundonald, and would be glad to have my opinion as to restoring him to his former honours. Lord Auckland said he was desirous to learn from the senior officers of the service their sentiments, and what might be the feelings of the profession.

I observed that it was a point upon which I was scarcely prepared to speak decidedly—that I knew a strong difference of opinion existed as to the propriety of restoring Lord Cochrane to the list of the navy—that I had at the time heard the subject much canvassed, and often strongly reprobated.

Lord Auckland said, 'Yes, I am aware of such an opinion, and Admiral Bowles is one who entertains it.'

I continued—I did not pretend to know whether the finding of the jury on Lord Cochrane's trial was founded on well-proved facts, or whether, as some thought, the judgment of the court was harsh—that I was present with a large assemblage of naval officers when George IV. (then Regent) declared in emphatic words his determination to order Lord Cochrane's name to be struck out of the list of the navy, as he (the Prince) would never permit a service, hitherto of unblemished honour, to be disgraced by the continuance of Lord Cochrane as a member of

<sup>1</sup> I made this memorandum on leaving Lord Auckland in case of being requested to say anything more on the subject.—T. B. M.

it, adding that he should also strip him of the Order of the Bath.

Lord Auckland observed that Lord Dundonald<sup>1</sup> is an officer of great enterprise and talent, and in the event of a war he should think it highly desirable to avail himself of his services, though he is now getting rather old, said his lordship.

I most fully concurred in this eulogy, and said his gallantry, enterprise, and professional intelligence was acknowledged throughout the service. Upon that point there could be no difference of opinion.

I repeated it was not for me to judge of the justice, or otherwise, of the sentence which led to Lord Cochrane's degradation, and with reference to his (Lord Auckland's) question, I could only take it up from the act of a former Board of Admiralty, and as it had been thought right by that Board to restore Lord Cochrane to his rank in the navy, I could not understand why the same circumstances which could justify such a recommendation to the Sovereign did not induce the same Board to perfect their measure of clemency by at once proposing to restore him to his former position; that, whatever was the motive for the one act, would seem to plead equally in favour of the other.

Lord Auckland said he thought I had taken the question up very fairly, and that Sir George Cockburn<sup>2</sup> seemed to be much of the same opinion.

It was at the old Government House on the Parade at Portsmouth, after dinner, at the table of the Prince Regent (all the flag officers being invited), that H.R.H. said he took advantage of being surrounded by naval officers to express his indignation at the conduct of Lord Cochrane, and went on to state,

<sup>1</sup> He was then Commander-in-Chief in North America and West Indies.

<sup>2</sup> Then Senior Naval Lord of the Admiralty.



in strong and impressive terms, his determination to order his degradation.

I am not quite sure that I recollect all the naval officers who were present. Lord Melville, the First Lord of the Admiralty, was there, and, I think, the King of Prussia and a large number of foreign officers—a party altogether perhaps of sixty.

These were present :

Admiral Sir Richard Bickerton.

Sir George Martin.

Sir T. Foley.

Sir George Hope.

Sir Harry Neale.

Sir T. Laforey.

Sir Byam Martin.

Admiral Foote.

Sir Thomas Thompson, Comptroller of the Navy.

Sir George Grey, Commissioner of the Dock-yard.

Lord Melville told me, after dinner, that the P. Regent had said nothing to him of his intention thus to announce Lord Cochrane's degradation, that he (Lord M.) was taken quite by surprise.

*SECOND SECRETARY OF THE ADMIRALTY  
TO BYAM MARTIN.*

Admiralty, 30th June, 1847.

My dear Sir Byam,—Lord Auckland would be very glad if you would call on him here to-morrow.

Yours very sincerely,

W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Admiral Sir Byam Martin, G.C.B.

*Observations of B. Martin on the note.*

Lord Auckland wished to ask my opinion about the admiral of the fleet being allowed to hold the situation of vice-admiral of the United Kingdom, his lordship having deprived Sir Geo. Martin of it when he was made admiral of the fleet. On a vacancy again occurring as vice-admiral, Sir George was reinstated in consequence of a paper I put into Lord Auckland's hand on the subject.

T. B. M.

It can very rarely happen that an officer holding the appointment of vice-admiral of the fleet shall also arrive at the position of admiral of the fleet. Lord Anson, though junior to Sir W. Rowley, was made admiral of the fleet over Sir W. Rowley and was also vice-admiral of England.

Lord Hawke was admiral of the fleet and vice-admiral.

Lord Howe, admiral of the fleet and general of marines, but on being appointed to the latter he gave up his appointment as admiral of England.

Sir W. Rowley gave up appointment as rear-admiral when he became admiral of the fleet.

*FROM ADMIRAL BULLEN IN HIS 87th YEAR.*

Bath, July 6th, 1847.

My dear and much valued Friend,—The grave is closed—the last solemn rites have been performed—and the mourners that attended are dispersed; and now permit me to tender to Lady Martin, yourself, and your sorrowing family, my unfeigned condolence for your late great and double loss.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Referring probably to the death of Sir Byam's grandson, son of Admiral Sir W. F. Martin, G.C.B., and of Lady Martin his sister-in-law, wife of Sir Henry Martin, Bart., who died in 1847.

All earthly consolations on these severe trials are weak and unavailing. Your own good and religious mind will direct you to the only fountain from whence your bereavement can be assuaged—to God and your Redeemer! He afflicts for our everlasting good. His will, not ours, be done! 'It is appointed unto men once to die'—therefore it is right. And who would wish to be immortal here, in this world of sad probation? I will not dwell on this theme of woe; but my heart was full, and had I not relieved it by this offering of friendship and affection, I should have felt that I had been ungrateful. You will not be surprised at the peculiar gloom that pervades this letter when I inform you that it is written by a person who has been on the confines of the other world—for I was pronounced dead, about a fortnight ago, by my medical attendant, who assured me that, had he been one minute later coming to my aid, nothing could have restored me. My heart and pulse had ceased to beat; but, being able to swallow a little, stimulants revived me. Without the least symptom of illness whatever, except a small uneasiness in my stomach, I dropped down in a fit; and, when I was raised up, fell again. I had lost all consciousness; and had it pleased God that I should not have been restored again in this world, what a blessed, happy departure mine must have been—at peace with God and all the world—and no suffering, either bodily or mentally, to the moment that I lost all perception. But it has pleased God that I shall be a sojourner here a little longer. But I pray Him to grant (His will according) when He shall finally call me away, my parting earthly sensations may be similar to what I have already experienced. What a momentous concern it is, to be always prepared to depart,



when the commissioned angel shall unfurl before us the scroll of death!

I now bid you farewell, but not before I offer my sincere and respectful regards to Lady Martin and your family. As to yourself, living or dying, you will ever possess my sincerest gratitude and affection.

J[OSEPH] BULLEN.

*LORD JOHN RUSSELL, FIRST LORD OF THE  
TREASURY, TO B. MARTIN.*

July 31, 1847.

Sir,—The office of Vice-Admiral of the United Kingdom having become vacant by the death of Sir George Martin, I shall have great pleasure in submitting your name to the Queen for that honourable distinction.

I have the honour to be

Your obedient servant,

J. RUSSELL.

*SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY TO B. MARTIN.*

Treasury Chambers, 20th August, 1847.

Sir,—With reference to your letter of the 16th instant, stating that you have decided not to receive the emoluments of the office of Vice-Admiral of the United Kingdom, to which you have been appointed, I have it in command to acquaint you that the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury have notified the same to the Board of Admiralty, and requested them to give directions for carrying into effect your honourable intentions.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

E. TREVELYAN.

*SECRETARY OF THE ADMIRALTY TO B. MARTIN.*

Admiralty, 24 August, 1847.

Sir,—The Lords of her Majesty's Treasury having notified to my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty your honourable determination of not receiving the pay attached to the appointment of Vice-Admiral of England, to which you have been raised, my Lords have given the necessary directions in consequence.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,  
W. A. B. HAMILTON.

*B. MARTIN TO ADMIRAL DEANS DUNDAS.*

Clifton, March 29th, 1848

My dear Admiral Dundas,<sup>1</sup>—My long continuance at this place has given me an opportunity to see much of the seamen about the docks and quays, and it has almost broken my heart to find there is so great and so increasing a desire amongst them to go into the American service.

This feeling has got to such a height that every ship of war belonging to the United States may be said to be manned with British seamen. I have the fact from men who have served from one year and a half to four years in different ships of the States' navy; and if you or others do not give the credence that I do to their statements, I have from the captain<sup>2</sup> of the *Grampus* (who has been much with the American squadron in the Pacific) a full confirmation of the mortifying truth. These men admit that our system of discipline is far more

<sup>1</sup> Then one of the Lords of the Admiralty.

<sup>2</sup> Captain H. B. Martin, R.N., his youngest naval son.

considerate, just, and lenient than in the American navy. They were very strong on this point ; and yet the capricious mortals leave us to encounter the rough treatment of the latter, where it is true they get better pay, but not a bit more indulgence on shore.

We know how greatly the interests and comfort of our seamen occupied the attention of the different Boards of Admiralty during the long peace ; but, though much has been done, there is a something remaining to do, to attach the seamen to the service of their country.

Corporal punishments have been brought under such restraint that they are now of unfrequent occurrence, limited in degree, and never inflicted under the impulse of anger. England is the only country that gives pensions to her seamen, and what other country can boast of a 'Greenwich Hospital,' that noble monument of a nation's care for her veteran and decayed sailors ? Yet with all this the stream of desertion from the navy is as abundant and as disgraceful to us as in those days when a harsher treatment justified the strongest prejudice, and cast a stain upon our profession, which time has not wiped out so clean as we could wish.<sup>1</sup> I am glad to hear that a well-designed scheme is in progress, in the right direction, by which the working class of petty officers are to have an addition to their pay.

The American service is as inferior to ours as it is possible to conceive in everything except wages. Their punishments are frequent, and sometimes

<sup>1</sup> In 1890 or 1891, the Admiralty sent a party under a most efficient officer to recruit stokers in the north midland and northern counties. The prevailing idea in them was, that the navy was still manned by impressment and ruled by the lash. The mothers were strong against their sons joining it.



inflicted by a sort of prolonged torture that with us would justly cost a captain his commission—a man may be flogged three successive days for the same offence. The subordinate officers are allowed to inflict punishments by making a man take off his jacket and give him twelve strokes of a colt!

Is it not clear that there is nothing attractive in the American service—save the better pay? And does not this fact tell us to look at home for the reason why our men go off in such shoals, and are so unwilling to enter into the service of their own country?

From all that I can ferret out, the impression on my mind is that the irritating pinch in our service has reference to four points:

First: The pay is thought inadequate to the fair expectations of men who, having toiled through a long apprenticeship, feel entitled to have their qualifications more liberally appreciated and paid for, and with this feeling uppermost in their minds they have always before them the temptation of £2 10s. per month on the other side of the Atlantic. Wages I know is a delicate subject, and touches the sore part of so many other classes in this country, that it ought not to be broached, except in the closet of the minister or under the roof of the Admiralty, so at present I shall say no more on the subject.

Secondly: I find the seamen have an utter abhorrency of what they call 'soldiering,' a Russian mode of dealing with seamen, which in my judgment has no promise of advantage to compensate in any degree for the vexation it occasions; and if the discontinuance of such a practice (if it is still in force) can assist in reconciling the men to our service, the sooner there is an end of it the better.

Thirdly: The Registry Act is very annoying to

the men, and one of those I questioned made it clear that he was driven into an American man-of-war as his last resource from starvation, for he had lost his register ticket, and consequently could not be entered on board any English merchant vessel, though many were at New York at the time.

Fourthly : There seems, from what I pick up, some harassing mode of working the men in our fleets, but I confess I do not sufficiently make out what is meant to enable me to say more about it ; you perhaps may know what it means.

We are overtaken by events which admonish us to be careful not to provoke angry feelings in large bodies of men ; and though you cannot at this moment meddle with the question of wages, the other points I have mentioned may admit of restraint, if your better knowledge of what is passing shall seem to afford grounds for the feeling I have described.

Yours very truly,  
T. B. M.

Rear-Admiral Dundas, Admiralty.

*B. MARTIN TO ADMIRAL DUNDAS.*

53 Wimpole Street,  
Monday, January 29th, 1849.

My dear Admiral,—The two questions you put to me on Saturday have had my best consideration, and according to your wish I proceed to state my opinion on each.

You first desire me to say ‘ if, in the event of a vacancy as admiral of the fleet, I think the officer next in succession, being (by common report) unsound in mind, and altogether in a state of entire decrepitude, ought to be appointed to fill that high rank.’

I need scarcely observe that I stand in a peculiar situation as regards such a question ; for if Sir Charles Hamilton be not promoted, the appointment must, as a matter of course, fall to my lot ; but I hope I shall never permit any selfish feeling to bias my judgment on professional subjects.

I do not consider promotion to the rank of admiral of the fleet in any way different from the advancement of an officer from one of the inferior grades of flag to a higher ; therefore, the most simple answer I can give is by asking you a question : if Sir Charles Hamilton, in his crippled and imbecile state, stood on the list as the senior vice-admiral, would you, on account of his infirmities, refuse to give him his flag at the main ? I think I may venture to answer that you would without the least hesitation sign his commission, and, if so, why stop his advancement to the higher grade ?

If it were for me to decide the question I should give the appointment to Sir Charles Hamilton, but I trust the vacancy is not so near at hand as has been supposed.

If any active duties appertained specially to the appointment of admiral of the fleet, the case would be different ; but he is no more liable to be called upon to serve than any admiral, or indeed so likely, for his rank would, under ordinary circumstances, be against him, as well as his age.

The other question is even more personal to myself than that just now discussed—being whether or not I am to receive the greatest professional insult that can be offered.

The question you put to me was this : if I were to be made admiral of the fleet, should I consider myself entitled to hold the appointment of vice-admiral of the United Kingdom ? My answer was, *undoubtedly* and that I would not submit to the



degradation of being stripped of the highest honour a naval officer can receive.

The appointment of admiral of the fleet is no compliment whatever; it is a *professional inheritance*,<sup>1</sup> the *gift of old age*, and *survivorship*: it follows as a matter of *right*, as one of the gradations of rank in the service, and no thanks to any one.

Not so the appointment of vice-admiral of England, which has ever been regarded as the most distinguished compliment belonging to our profession.

Precedents, as well as good feeling, ought to shut out all doubt as to the right of an officer to retain whatever professional honours he may have gained, notwithstanding his casual progressive rise in rank.

The very act of your Board presents a marked and honourable decision upon this question.

You will recollect, about two years ago, Sir George Martin was made admiral of the fleet without the slightest intimation that he would be expected to give up his position as vice-admiral of the United Kingdom; the first he knew of it was by the Gazette, which announced Sir Davidge

<sup>1</sup> Not so, as shown by B. M. in the case of Lord Anson. As nearly every officer who rose by seniority to the top of the list had distinguished war service, it generally appeared to be so; but the rank was held in abeyance from B. Martin's death to June 25, 1858, in consequence of the senior admiral, T. Le Marchant Gosselin, not having served as a flag officer. On his death, Admiral Sir John West was made admiral of the fleet. It was ordered in the 1862 Regulations: 'Flag officers shall be appointed by the Admiralty in pursuance of her Majesty's pleasure.' In 1879 the present rule was enacted: 'Admirals of the Fleet will be selected by her Majesty from the admirals on the active list, who have served as commanders-in-chief, or who have commanded at sea two years.' As the navy is a fighting service the first qualification for the rank ought to be military service.

Gould's<sup>1</sup> appointment to that office. This greatly wounded Sir George Martin's feelings, and, I verily believe, hastened his death.

He wrote a letter of remonstrance to Lord Auckland, who, with his accustomed desire to do justice to every one, did me the honour to ask my opinion on the subject. I told him that precedents, and a due consideration for an officer who had gained such honours, would satisfy his lordship that he had done an injustice to Sir George Martin. The conversation upon this and other naval matters went to some length, but it is not necessary for me to dwell upon it; I need only remind you that on the death of Sir Davidge Gould, which very soon followed, Lord Auckland hastened to make the best reparation he could to Sir George Martin by immediately restoring him to the situation of which he had been inadvertently deprived.

Lord Auckland observed it had been represented to him that Lord Howe gave up his appointment as vice-admiral of the United Kingdom on being made admiral of the fleet. I told him he had been misinformed and that Lord Howe *gave up* his appointment as vice-admiral (420*l.* a year) for that of general of marines (1,900*l.* a year), which, *together* with that of admiral of the fleet, he held during life.

Subsequently to Sir George Martin's case the present Board of Admiralty, so far from thinking two appointments of this nature incompatible, made Sir George Cockburn rear-admiral of the United Kingdom, although then holding the most lucrative situation in the service—that of major-general of marines.

Again, we see Sir William Parker put in posses-

<sup>1</sup> A distinguished officer who commanded the *Audacious* at the Nile.

sion of a good service pension in 1844, and allowed to retain it when in 1846 he was appointed principal aide-de-camp to the Queen. By the way, this leads to the recollection of another question you proposed, and affords at the same time a complete answer. You asked if, in the event of Sir Edward Codrington becoming rear-admiral of England, he ought to give up his good service pension. I answered, Undoubtedly not : when an officer has gained such a compliment, nothing ought to deprive him of it.

A captain, on being promoted to his flag, gives up his good service pension because it is a class of pension specially assigned to that rank, and the surrender of it on promotion is the condition on which he receives it. An admiral has his pension for life.

I do not think it necessary to lengthen this letter, though much more might be stated as regards precedents, whether of old date or your own more recent acts. It was your Board that gave Sir Robert Stopford the appointment of rear-admiral of England, although at the time Governor of Greenwich Hospital.

Yours very truly,  
T. B. MARTIN.

P.S.—I by no means wish this to be considered private : make what use of it you please.

Rear-Admiral Deans Dundas, &c. &c.

*Remarks on foregoing Letter.*

January 29th, 1849.

I am anxious to close my letter to Admiral Dundas, feeling, as I wrote, an increasing distrust in my power to dwell upon his queries with decent complacency.

The letter is gone, and, though written in haste,



will, I hope, make him sensible of the wrong and unjust notion he has on each of the points referred to in his verbal questions to me.

I might have cut short all argument upon the subject by stating that the vice-admiral of the United Kingdom does not hold the appointment by a commission from the Admiralty, but that it is a patent place granted under the Royal sign manual, and that no inferior authority can abrogate such an appointment.

But suppose the Admiralty had the power to do so manifest an injustice as to strip an officer of a distinction gained by an honourable course of professional service, it would be the most flagrant inconsistency on the part of the present Board of Admiralty, whose recent acts have been so remarkably the reverse of that now imagined by Admiral Dundas in the event of my becoming admiral of the fleet.

In 1847 the present Board of Admiralty concurred in the propriety of conferring on Sir Robert Stopford the compliment of rear-admiral of the United Kingdom, although at the time holding one of the highest appointments belonging to the service—namely, Governor of Greenwich Hospital.

Again, a few months after this, the present Board of Admiralty recommended Sir Robert Stopford to be appointed vice-admiral of the United Kingdom.

Still more recently Sir George Cockburn was recommended by the present Board of Admiralty for the situation of rear-admiral, on the occasion of my being raised to that of vice-admiral of England. At the time Sir George Cockburn received this compliment he was in the enjoyment of the most lucrative and distinguished appointment belonging to our service—that of major-general of marines.

It will scarcely be believed—after the instances I have given of this very same honour and increase of income being conferred on officers previously in possession of appointments of large emolument—it should now be asked of me by a member of the present Board of Admiralty whether I ought to retain my appointment as vice-admiral of England in the event of my succeeding to the rank of admiral of the fleet. I declare I almost bounce from my chair with indignation while I write the words.

It has been asked what could possibly have prompted such a question, and I think I could give the true solution of it, but I forbear.

It is right I should state, after having alluded to the two officers before named as holding high positions with considerable salaries attached to them, one as Governor of Greenwich Hospital with 1,500*l.* a year besides half-pay—the other as major-general of marines 1,070*l.*—it is right, I say, that I should state that I have a pension of 800*l.* a year as retired comptroller of the navy; and when I received from Lord J. Russell an intimation that he had proposed my name to the Queen as rear-admiral, and subsequently as vice-admiral of England, I acknowledged myself gratified by the compliment, stating that as I had a pension, I thought it due to the public to decline the salary of vice-admiral of England (420*l.* a year).

In reply the Secretary of the Treasury informed me ‘their lordships thought I had acted very honourably in so doing.’

Admiral Dundas told me, as I gave up the income, I ought to give up the appointment; but, in concurrence with the opinion of the Lords of the Treasury, I hold a different opinion. I greatly value the high distinction of vice-admiral of the United Kingdom, while at the same time I feel that, having

a pension, I do right to give up the income of the appointment.<sup>1</sup>

T. B. M.

*ADMIRAL SIR G. F. SEYMOUR TO B. MARTIN.*

[*Private.*]

Hampton Court, March 7, 1849.

My dear Sir Byam,—I met Admiral Dundas at Althorp in November, and he asked me if I would be one of a committee to regulate the distribution of naval prize money afresh. I told him that I would not willingly undertake so invidious an office.

This led me to look again at the existing proclamation that has been issued since I went to the Pacific, and is attributed to Sir G. Cockburn. On calculating its application to different rates, there is something faulty in the principle, and it must be very [detrimental] to the class which comprises the surgeons, who are never silent when their own interests are concerned, and these are reduced in this plan more than in any preceding one.

The principal motive, however, of any new arrangement would be to fall in with the prevailing disposition to equalise to the prejudice of the captains; and I should be sorry to be made somewhat of a catspaw for that purpose, and am glad you have not undertaken to preside over a commission which would give such ungrateful work to its members.

On the more important subject of your note I have been doing my best to influence those I know of the House of Commons in favour of the mainte-

<sup>1</sup> Admiral Dundas's opinion appears the correct one. The pay and appointment should go together in justice to future holders of the appointment. B. M. could have better satisfied his own feelings by giving up a portion of his pension corresponding to the pay.



nance of the present laws in every essential provision, and to invite them to study your evidence ; but some from whom I should have expected better things are shirking, and show an inclination to sail with that tide which will sweep away our maritime power and commercial prosperity, and to leave the task of contention to the Lords.

It is a good question for the latter to make a stand upon, as the abrogation will ruin thousands of the industrious poor they should protect, and the Lords are divested of any personal interests to which their stand could be attributed.

I am afraid, however, of supineness and ignorance even then, and also that the Duke of Wellington's indisposition to vote against any Government the Queen employs may be, if he follows them, of bad example. One must hope, however, that his patriotism and sagacity will keep him right on so vital a question.

We are going to take our invalid for a short time to Wakefield Lodge, near Stony Stratford, for change of air. I never felt such a sense of humility as I do at the moment in his being unable to do more than canvass and grumble about this mischievous measure.

Those in the service would not, I believe, combine about legislation measures, or the combined expression of the older officers of the navy would have some influence, I should imagine, in turning off the mischief, of which they are better able to judge than the self-sufficient civilians who indulge their crude minds with the help of merchants blinded by some narrow view of those interests.

I don't value Sir James Stirling's opinion the least. His scheme is better fitted for a Neapolitan or Sardinian navy than that of Great Britain.

Yours most faithfully,

G. SEYMOUR.

## ADMIRAL BULLEN TO B. MARTIN.

Bath, March 27th, 1849.

My dearest and now deeply afflicted friend,—It would be the height of presumption to offer any earthly consolation, under your great bereavement,<sup>1</sup> which it has pleased God to afflict you—to Him only can you apply for support; and He has promised it, when sought by prayer and resignation. Believe me that my grief for you is deep and sincere. That God may succour you in this great trial is the unfeigned, fervent prayer of your old friend, whose gratitude and regard for you is imperishable.

J. BULLEN.

Admiral Sir T. Byam Martin, G.C.B.

*Remarks by B. Martin on Vice-Admiral of United Kingdom.*

The vice-admiral of the United Kingdom is appointed by 'letters patent,' and not by commission from the Admiralty. His office is, by the wording of the patent, superior to that of admiral of the fleet.

It has seldom happened, and can only be of rare occurrence, that the vice-admiral of the United Kingdom rises by succession to the rank of admiral of the fleet.

The only instances in my immediate recollection are Lord Anson, Lord Hawke, and Lord Howe; besides Sir George Martin, who, at the special recommendation of the present (Lord Auckland's) Board of Admiralty, very recently united both offices in his person.

It had been stated to Lord Auckland that Lord Howe resigned the office of vice-admiral of the United Kingdom on his succeeding to the rank of

<sup>1</sup> The death of his wife, Lady Martin.

admiral of the fleet. When Lord Auckland did me the honour to refer to my opinion on this point, I told him he had been misinformed, for that Lord Howe wore the union flag from June 1790 to 1796, being all that time vice-admiral of the United Kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

It was when Admiral Forbes died in 1796 that Lord Howe consented to resign his patent as vice-admiral (worth 430*l.* a year) for the more lucrative appointment of general of marines, which gave 1,900*l.* a year, and he continued to hold the rank of admiral of the fleet with the generalship of marines until his death. It was this that gave rise to the erroneous notion that his lordship resigned his patent as vice-admiral on being made admiral of the fleet.

Lord St. Vincent likewise was admiral of the fleet and general of marines.

Admiral Lord Bridport was treasurer of Greenwich Hospital when he received the additional appointment of vice-admiral of the United Kingdom on Lord Howe's resignation.

But if any fair doubt could exist as to the custom in such cases, the present Board of Admiralty (always meaning Lord Auckland's) has recognised the old practice of the service by several decisions of their own, which have now become precedents.

Sir Robert Stopford, for instance, whilst holding the most lucrative and one of the highest offices belonging to the Navy, received in addition to it from the present Board of Admiralty—first the appointment of rear-admiral of the United Kingdom, and, soon after, that of vice-admiral.

Sir George Cockburn, holding the office of

<sup>1</sup> Howe was not admiral of the fleet during this period, but was authorised to wear the union flag at the main while in command of the Channel Squadron, being thus given local rank as admiral of the fleet. In a similar way, of late years, flag officers have been sometimes given higher rank locally.



major-general of marines, was appointed by the present Board of Admiralty to succeed me as rear-admiral of the United Kingdom.

Sir William Parker holds the double emolument of a good service pension and principal aide-de-camp to the Queen.

Every direct precedent as well as the analogous cases I have mentioned warrant my right to hold the appointment of vice-admiral of the United Kingdom, if I shall succeed to the rank of admiral of the fleet, and it never would have occurred to me to entertain a doubt on the subject; the one being a distinction conferred by the Sovereign, the other merely a step in rank. It was a conversation with Admiral Dundas last January which made me aware that he at least, if not the Board of Admiralty, was inclining to an opinion that these appointments were incompatible one with the other, and it is to controvert that opinion that I state the facts contained in this paper.

When Lord John Russell intimated to me that he 'had submitted my name to the Queen for the honourable distinction of vice-admiral of the United Kingdom,' I expressed myself gratified by the compliment; but, as I enjoyed a pension for 16 years' service as comptroller of the navy, I stated to his lordship that I should decline the pay belonging to the appointment of vice-admiral, and the Secretary of the Treasury wrote to me to say, 'My Lords think you have acted very honourably.'

I will only add that I can never be a consenting party to any proposition tending to deprive an officer of a professional honour once conferred upon him by the Crown.

T. B. MARTIN.

53 Wimpole St., October 29th, 1849.

Memorandum sent to Sir F. Baring 29th October, 1849.

*B. MARTIN TO SIR F. BARING.*

23 Wimpole Street, October 30th, 1849.

My dear Sir,—I called at the Admiralty this morning in the hope of paying my personal respects to you, as the critical illness of the admiral of the fleet now makes it necessary that my position as his professional heir apparent should be clearly understood.

In January last a question was put to me by Admiral Dundas, which first intimated to me that a doubt existed whether I could hold the office of vice-admiral of England with the rank of admiral of the fleet.

My answer to Admiral Dundas on that occasion and the paper which accompanied it will explain my case. I will not therefore further trespass on your time.

I have the honour to be, &c.

*Memorandum in B. Martin's handwriting.*

The situation of admiral of the fleet is a sort of inheritance passing in succession according to seniority ; it is, in fact, the gift of age and survivorship. It is not a professional compliment.

The appointment of vice-admiral of the United Kingdom is one of the highest professional distinctions belonging to the service, and I cannot understand the grounds upon which such an honour should be taken from an officer because by age he gains a step on the half-pay list.

Lord Anson was admiral of the fleet and vice-admiral<sup>1</sup> of England.

<sup>1</sup> Made Vice-Admiral of Great Britain on the death of Sir John Norris.

Sir W. Rowley, who was senior to Lord Anson, was passed over, and Lord A. made admiral of the fleet over his head; it occasioned much clamour in the service, but Lord A[nsen] died almost immediately,<sup>1</sup> and Sir W. R. took his place as admiral of the fleet, but resigned the office of rear-admiral.

Lord Hawke, admiral of the fleet and vice-admiral [of Great Britain].

Lord Howe, admiral of the fleet and general of marines, gave up v[ice]-admiral [of Great Britain] on getting the marines, not in consequence of being admiral of the fleet.

The appointment of general of marines was 2,000*l.* per ann., that of vice-admiral of the United Kingdom about 500*l.*

*Scrap in B. Martin's writing.*

Lord Howe, admiral of the fleet and general of marines.

1799. On the death of Lord Howe, Admiral Barrington became general of marines.

Lord Bridport, vice-admiral of the United Kingdom; vice-admiral of the white and lieutenant-general of marines.

Lord Bridport, Treasurer of Greenwich Hospital and vice-admiral of England.

Lord Howe gave up his office as vice-admiral of England for the much higher appointment of general of marines; it was for his choice either to retain the one or take the other.

The general of marines was 1,900*l.* a year, vice-admiral of England 450*l.*

It can very rarely happen that an officer being vice-admiral of England shall rise to be admiral of

<sup>1</sup> He held the office nearly a year.



the fleet. The only instance I know of was Lord Hawke.

The Honourable J. Forbes, admiral of the fleet and general of marines, died in 1796, on which Lord Howe became admiral of the fleet, and on being appointed general of marines with a salary of 1,900*l.*, gave up his patent as vice-admiral of England, which is only 420*l.* a year.

Lord Bridport being at the time Treasurer of Greenwich Hospital succeeded Lord Howe as vice-admiral of England.

Lord Hawke was admiral of the fleet and vice-admiral of England.

Earl St. Vincent, admiral of the fleet and general of marines.

The precedents in many other cases show that the officer holding the position of admiral of the fleet, had also the appointment of vice-admiral of England, or general of marines.

The habit and practice of such appointments have been approved, and acted upon by the present Board of Admiralty.

It was by their recommendation that Sir R. Stopford was made rear- and vice-admiral of England while holding the appointment of Governor of Greenwich Hospital.

It was by the recommendation of the present Board of Admiralty (under Lord Auckland) that I was made first rear-admiral and afterwards vice-admiral of the United Kingdom.

It was the present Board of Admiralty that recommended Sir George Cockburn, while holding the appointment of major-general of marines, to be made the rear-admiral in my vacancy.

*ADMIRAL SIR C. WAGER.*

When, in 1708, his squadron captured the galleon off Carthage, according to the practice then prevailing, the captured vessel became a prey to a general pillage ; but, hearing on his return to England that an Act of Parliament was passed in 1707 regulating the future allotment of prize money, Sir C. Wager gave up his share.

Qy. Was it an Act of Parliament or an Order in Council ?

It was while Sir C. Wager was First Lord of the Admiralty that he planned Anson's voyage round the world.

On the accession of George I., Wager was appointed Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean and Comptroller of the Navy. He resigned the Comptroller on being made First Lord of the Admiralty.

*ADMIRAL BULLEN TO B. MARTIN.*

Bath, Nov. 3rd, 1849.

My oldest and dearest friend,—My heart would bitterly and truly reproach me of ingratitude if I did not, with your other friends, congratulate you on your having reached the highest station in our glorious navy. You have richly deserved it. May you long live to enjoy it with health and comfort ; and when you slip your earthly moorings, may you anchor in the haven of everlasting happiness ! The public papers report that I am become a red admiral. I was once, alas ! a yellow one,<sup>1</sup> then a blue one, and

<sup>1</sup> Yellow Admiral, *i.e.* put on the retired list. Bullen was placed on the retired list on promotion to flag rank in 1819, and was retained there till November 12, 1840, when he was restored to the active list as vice-admiral of the red, and died on the active list, aged 94 or 95.

then a white one, and before very long shall be a dead one, so will end that part of my drama of life which has been allotted me to perform. I wish that it had been discharged better. May God in His infinite mercy pardon all my past sins! Alas! when we have done our best, we are but unprofitable servants.

Kindly remember me to all who think me worthy of remembrance. And believe me as I ever was, am, and ever shall be, while I am a sojourner here, your most grateful and affectionate old friend,

J. BULLEN.

*ADMIRAL BULLEN TO B. MARTIN.*

Bath, March 1st, 1850.

My dearest, oldest, and best friend,—I return you a thousand thanks for your last letter: it is quite a banquet of the richest order to see your handwriting. May you long be able to skip from the cellar to the attic—at the first to take a drop of grog, and in the last to display your wit! You have roused my attention to the lumbago canvas belt—I should like to fish my back-bone with one. But we are such perpendicular gentlemen here, they know nothing about them. I wish that you would send me one from the real makers, and I will contrive to send you the money for it. I have brown paper round my loins, and just at this time I am better, but not fit to ride a steeple-chase. I can't express to you how delighted I was to see your dear daughter; aye, and to kiss her too. Pray make my kindest regards to her. God bless her, you, and all of you together—not forgetting Colonel Davies. What a noble command your son<sup>1</sup> has got!

<sup>1</sup> H. B. Martin, first captain of that fine three-decker, the Duke of Wellington.



And if there was a powder and shot occasion to direct it, I am sure that he would do honour to it, or else he could be no son of yours. I will not engage your valuable time any longer, therefore, with assuring you—and I am no changeling—that whilst I sojourn on this whirling ball of clay, my friendship for you will only cease when I cease to breathe.

J. BULLEN.

*SIR F. BARING<sup>1</sup> TO B. MARTIN.*

[*Private.*]

Admiralty, July 7, 1851.

My dear Sir Byam,—I write you a line at the earliest opportunity to inform you that, as the arrangement of the new list which will appear in the 'Gazette' to-morrow, the Queen has been graciously pleased to approve of Sir George Cockburn being raised to the rank of an Admiral of the Fleet.

I am, my dear Sir Byam,  
Yours very sincerely,

FRANCIS BARING.

Sir Byam Martin, G.C.B., Admiral of the Fleet.

*B. MARTIN TO SIR F. BARING.*

July 7.

My dear Sir Francis,—Your obliging communication to me of my friend Cockburn's promotion to the rank of Admiral of the Fleet has given me very great pleasure.

So marked and so just a compliment to his brilliant course of professional duty will be regarded with deep interest throughout the service, and will convey to Sir George Cockburn himself, and to his

<sup>1</sup> First Lord of the Admiralty.

family, a most gratifying proof of the high feeling and consideration which must have prompted your recommendation of the measure to the Queen's gracious approbation.

Pray accept my thanks for so welcome a note, and believe me, my dear Sir, with great esteem,

Very faithfully yours,  
T. B. M.

*ADMIRAL SIR W. H. GAGE TO B. MARTIN.*

Eaton Place, 2nd December, 1852.

My dear Sir Byam,—The Committee of Officers to whom was entrusted the gratifying task of carrying into execution the wishes of so many members of the naval and military profession, that your portrait should have a place amongst those of the distinguished officers of both Services that at present adorn the walls of the United Service Club, and having satisfactorily attained their object, I am desired by the Committee to express to you their best thanks for the ready assistance you afforded them by giving the artist employed every facility of meeting their wishes, to present the Club with as faithful a likeness of the senior Admiral of the Fleet as was practicable.<sup>1</sup>

I am also requested by the Committee to beg your acceptance of the accompanying testimonial containing a list of the names of all the subscribers to your portrait, as a slight tribute of their respect and esteem.

In thus making known the sentiments of the subscribers, allow me to express the personal gratifi-

<sup>1</sup> A very high and unusual compliment to be paid by the members of the United Service Club; a proof of the esteem B. Martin was held in.

cation I experience in having been made the medium of communicating to you the feelings and good wishes of so many distinguished officers of the United Services.

Believe me, my dear Sir Byam,  
Ever yours truly and obliged,  
W. H. GAGE.

*B. MARTIN TO SIR WILLIAM GAGE.*

Wimpole St., Decr. 4, 1852.

My dear Sir William,—Your letter of yesterday gives me the opportunity I have so long desired of offering my grateful thanks to yourself, the Committee, and those members of the United Service Club who have honoured me by giving my portrait a place amongst those officers, military and naval, whose brilliant services render their names so conspicuous in the history of our country.

I am fully sensible how unimportant I must appear in such association, and the discriminating eye of professional men who may now, or hereafter, inquire into the history of each officer, will at once perceive that the honour conferred upon me was due to the position I happened to hold in the Naval Service, rather than to any higher motive.

But, apart from that consideration, permit me to assure you, and all who have joined in paying me this compliment, that I so greatly esteem a distinction which marks so favourable a disposition towards me, by persons so eminent in the public service.

The testimonial so tastefully emblazoned and framed, which conveys to me the names of those who have subscribed to the portrait, will be a lasting memorial of their highly valued regards, and,



as such, will, I am sure, be ever held in the greatest respect by my family when I am gone.

I thank you sincerely for the truly friendly terms in which you have made this gratifying communication to me.

I am, my dear Sir William,  
Very faithfully yours,  
T. B. M.

*ADMIRAL BULLEN TO B. MARTIN.*

Bath, March 9th, 1853.

My dear old friend,—I beg that you will accept my grateful thanks for the documents you sent me respecting the defence of our dear, invaluable country. I have read them with an intensity of interest that I have no words to express. It is marvellous—astounding—indeed awful, that we could have remained so long in our late apathetic state, with an enemy, a few miles only from us, armed up to the chin, ready for any mischief, who hates us, and is ever ready, when opportunity offers, to lay our towns in ashes and slaughter the inhabitants. But I hope that we have been awakened in time to avoid so dreadful an evil; and I consider, after deep reflection, that there is no advice or superior judgment, founded on great experience, could be given than what you have laid before the public. I am only sorry that you did not give the enemy a gentle hint that none of those who dared to pollute our shores with their presence could ever expect to return back to their own country again. And perhaps on this occasion kind ladies might afford assistance, and that we should be not wanting of Judiths with falchions, and Jaels with hammer and nails to assist us.

How did you stand the late bitter cold weather? I never suffered so much cold in all my life; it has shrivelled up my old carcass like a wizened apple. I think it must have puzzled a Polar bear to keep himself warm. I have kept at home like a hodmandod, and therefore caught no cold. With gratitude inexpressible I return Almighty God my deep heartfelt thanks for the wonderful health I am still enjoying. On the 14th of next month I shall have revolved ninety-two times round the central glorious luminary. Possessing all my faculties in a good working state, I find little or no deficiency in my intellectual department; I read four or five hours a day; my eyes never fail me; my hearing not quite so acute as formerly; my hand so steady that I think at ten paces with a pistol I could hit a wafer once out of three shots. One or two of my head rails are rather loose, but sound to the centre, and can yet crack a flinty biscuit. I have not much of rheumatism or lumbago, thanks to your belt which you recommended to me. What cause is here for thanksgiving! I am at peace with God, peace with the world, and peace with myself, ready, I hope, to slip my earthly moorings whenever the mandate comes from on high to depart and launch on the voyage of Eternity. I offer my kind regards to your family, who think me worthy of remembrance. I now bid you farewell! May health and happiness ever attend you! and rest assured of the lasting regard of your old and sincere friend,

JOS. BULLEN.

*LORD ELLENBOROUGH TO B. MARTIN.*

113 Eaton Square, April 29, 1853.

My dear Admiral,—I am very sensible of your kind attention in sending me a copy of your very

interesting and valuable paper on our naval defences.

I had had the advantage of reading it before, Lord Hatherton having given me a copy : but I am very glad to have the copy you have sent to me, for the one I had from Lord Hatherton I gave to Sir C. Napier, the General.

Believe me, my dear Admiral,

Very faithfully yours,

ELLENBOROUGH.

*B. MARTIN TO REAR-ADMIRAL W. F. MARTIN.*

[*Private.*]

July 2nd, 1853.

My dear William,—Admiral Parker<sup>1</sup> brought me a message from Sir J. Graham last evening to say it was thought desirable to appropriate the Duke of Wellington to the flag of the Commander-in-Chief in the Baltic.

Fearing that Parker may not have reported my reply correctly, I have just now sent off a letter to Sir James as follows :

‘My dear Sir,—The convenience and propriety of appropriating the Duke of Wellington to the reception of the flag of the Commander-in-Chief in the Baltic will be as obvious to Commodore Martin<sup>2</sup> as it is to me, and I am quite sure he will cheerfully resign his command in furtherance of your wishes.

‘The offer of the Nile with a broad pennant is a very flattering compliment, but I am unable to take upon myself to say what his feelings may be as regards his health, as he had been suffering from rheumatism ; but if you will permit a note to be

<sup>1</sup> Vice-Admiral Hyde Parker, a Lord of the Admiralty.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Byam Martin, then commanding the Duke of Wellington.





written to him with such an offer, it will remove all doubts, and I hope without any inconvenient delay.

‘I beg you to forgive my thus troubling you, but I feel that I could scarcely take upon myself to speak decidedly with reference to the compliment you so kindly propose.

‘I am, dear — —’

Henry was so strong in his expressions before he went last from Spithead, that I could not at once commit him by accepting Sir J. Graham’s offer, but I hope it will remain open to Henry’s choice—the going out third in command.

*SIR J. GRAHAM’S ANSWER.*

My dear Sir Byam,—I should have troubled you with a letter had not Admiral Parker told me yesterday that he was going to dine with you.

I propose to write to Commodore Martin by the Lisbon packet on the 6th, offering him the command of the Nile with a broad pennant in the North Sea fleet, and expressing my regret that the necessities of the service appeared to demand that the Duke of Wellington, which he has by his exertions brought into good order, should be taken from him for the flag of the Commander-in-Chief.

I did not like to write such a letter without previous communication with you, fearing that you might think I acted without the consideration so justly due to you and to your son. But as, on the whole, you see no objection to my making this proposal to the commodore, I shall give effect to my intention and so write by the first opportunity.

I cannot sufficiently thank you for your admirable suggestions and observations with respect to operations in the Baltic and the measures it will be necessary to take.

I fear that with your permission I must frequently recur to your advice and assistance.

I am, my dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

J. GRAHAM.

*SIR J. GRAHAM TO B. MARTIN.*

[*Private.*]

Admiralty, 6 August, 1853.

My dear Sir Byam,—The Queen intends to review the fleet at Spithead on Thursday next. Her Majesty has notified to me her intention of visiting the Duke of Wellington at 11 o'clock on that day before the fleet gets under way. I am sure that it would gratify her Majesty to meet the admiral of the fleet on the quarter-deck of his son's ship: and it would be an honour and a pleasure to me, that the Board of Admiralty should be accompanied by you on this occasion.

I am, with sincere respect,

My dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

J. GRAHAM.

*B. MARTIN TO SIR J. GRAHAM.*

[*Answer.*]

My dear Sir,—The very kind and gratifying terms in which you invite me to be on board the Duke of Wellington on the occasion of the Queen's visit to that ship, claims my immediate thanks, and I shall not fail to be there at the time you are so good as to mention.

Individually I gratefully appreciate your considerate and obliging attention to me, but the compliment paid to me personally in this instance will doubtless and truly be regarded by the service as a

compliment to my position in the profession, and will consequently give satisfaction to others as well as to myself.

I am, &c.

T. BYAM MARTIN.

*SIR J. GRAHAM TO B. MARTIN.*

[*Private.*]

Admiralty, 19th January, 1854.

My dear Sir Byam,—I am sincerely obliged to you for allowing me to see your Baltic memorandum. Would you permit me to take a copy of it that my colleagues in the Cabinet may have the benefit of reading it?

If unhappily a war with Russia is unavoidable, I shall have to trouble you with frequent questions, for I must rely principally on your advice with respect to the Baltic, and the country is fortunate in possessing so true and able an adviser.

I am, my dear Sir Byam,

Yours very faithfully,

J. GRAHAM.

*B. MARTIN TO SIR JAMES GRAHAM.*

My dear Sir,—I beg you will use my Baltic memorandum in any way you please.

Could I have foreseen its destination it should not have gone to you in so incomplete and slovenly a state.

If it should be the misfortune of our country to be forced into war with Russia I shall most willingly attend to any questions you may do me the honour to propose to me respecting the Baltic, and shall be



glad if, after a lapse of forty-two years since my flag was there, my memory be less defective than might be expected.

I beg you will believe me,  
Very faithfully yours,  
T. B. M.

REAR-ADMIRAL W. F. MARTIN TO B. MARTIN.

[*Private.*]

Portsmouth, March 26, 1854.

My dear Father,—I have procured from the captain<sup>1</sup> of the *Caesar* a curious document relating to the 258 Coastguard men who form a part of his crew. I send the document to you, and a slip of paper with an abstract: will you send the list back? Do not say you had it from me; indeed, it were better not to talk of it generally, as it is a sore subject with Sir J. Graham. I intend to ask Henry<sup>2</sup> to give me such another return of his Coastguard men. It shows how the thing has been jobbed, and how little in its present state the Coastguard can be relied upon as a reserve. No branch or department in our service is well organised, or honestly administered—we are a huge mass of stupidity and corruption.<sup>3</sup>

Ever, my dear Father,  
Your affectionate Son,  
W. FANSHAWE MARTIN.

<sup>1</sup> Captain John Robb, made a commander for service at Navarino.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Byam Martin, his brother.

<sup>3</sup> This cannot be said now; since the Russian war revealed our deficiencies, the naval service both afloat and ashore has been improved far beyond that of any previous period, nor was it ever so efficient as it now is.

*SIR JAMES GRAHAM TO REAR-ADMIRAL  
W. F. MARTIN.*

I have received the Queen's commands to express her Majesty's deep regret on account of your father's death.<sup>1</sup> I use her Majesty's own words written in answer to the letter from me which conveyed the sad intelligence.

'The Queen deeply regrets the death of that distinguished old Admiral, Sir Byam Martin, and she requests Sir James Graham to convey the Prince's and her expression of sincere condolence to the family on this sad occasion.'

I shall thank you to make known to your relations these feelings of her Majesty thus graciously expressed, in which all her subjects join.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully.

[J. R. G. GRAHAM.]

October 1854.

<sup>1</sup> On October 21, 1854.



## REMINISCENCES AND NOTES

1832-33 : A sailor's life, monotonous as it is in the ordinary occupations of a time of peace, abounds so much with incident in an active and enterprising war, that I often regret not having kept a diary of the varied and peculiar events which, by the favour of good fortune, gave to my naval pursuits more than common interest.

With but little interruption I have been actively employed in the King's service at sea and on shore more than forty-seven years. To attempt therefore to retrace with accuracy the circumstances, public and private, which have been crowded into so eventful a period as that comprehended between the years 1785 and the time I now begin this effort at reminiscences would be a tedious and disappointing undertaking. It would be making a toil of pleasure, and as that is no part of my present plan, I shall only note events as they chance to come to recollection, and not ransack the brain in quest of them.

I seek an occupation as a something to fly to occasionally rather than risk the agonies of an unoccupied mind, convinced, but not from experience, that the hardest life a man can lead is a life of idleness. It may sound Irish, but let any one fairly appeal to himself at such a moment, and he will acknowledge the truth of the observation. The moment a man gives himself up to a moping yawning life he becomes his own tormentor : he wants some-



thing, and he knows not what he wants : he tries to kill time, and time kills him—it hangs so heavy upon his hands.

Time is our estate, and, like our land, if not cultivated becomes a waste.

Without some pursuit a person who has worked hard all his life may be apt to settle down at once into the stupid old man, than which nothing (when it is wilful) can be more disgusting ; yet, unfortunately, it is the common propensity of our nature. We grow old with an ill grace, and give up the fleeting pleasures of youthful pursuits with a reluctance which makes us sometimes cling to them too long. I like to think (and I wish I may practise what I preach) that a cheerful contented approach to the close of life has its surest foundation in habitual piety. It is that which will give a buoyancy of spirits, and of hope, in the retirement of declining life, infinitely more delightful than the feverish excitement which belongs to the heyday of our youthful pursuits : it is that which leads us to think what we have been, what we are, and what we may be. But with all this I am the last to advocate a withdrawal from the social intercourse which a kind Providence designed for our recreation and happiness.

May it never be my misfortune to lose this view of the question, or to permit the encroachment of feelings calculated to damp the pleasure I now experience upon this deeply interesting subject.

Happy is the old man who is still a contributor to the cheerfulness of the family circle, and who helps to make home the blessed haven which it ever ought to be to himself and to those around him. God knows, if my home proves otherwise, the fault will be my own ; for I can truly say no man was ever more blessed than I have been in all that re-

lates to domestic life, and from my own heart I make an acknowledgment so justly due, one and all, to those around me.

In undertaking this scribbling course of amusement the thing the most annoying to me is that my memory is defective where I would wish it the most perfect. I can remember, with extraordinary fidelity, things that occurred when I had scarcely escaped from the arms of my nurse, while circumstances comparatively recent, and of real importance, have but a slender hold upon my recollection. There is such a confusion about them that I am unable to give to each its due order and date, and the occurrences of different periods make such a higgledy-piggledy mess, that when I begin to write I must dip as into a lottery bag, and take the first subject that comes to hand.

I lost many valuable private documents owing to several bundles of papers having been destroyed in the hurry of quitting my residence in Somerset Place—many of them of old date, and others that I could have referred to upon what may be termed historical circumstances connected with my official duties, and unknown to any person who may hereafter desire to bring them to light. My reliance therefore must rest on some scattered memoranda, and upon a memory defective, as I have described mine, to supply materials for the following pages.

Transactions connected with the operations of war, if recorded as they occur, partake of the animation of the moment; but if delayed, as in the present instance, the representation is like unto a picture which, by the fading of its colours, loses its spirit. The enlivening bustle, the perils, the responsibility, the bold daring of particular individuals, the ecstasy of successful enterprise, the unflinching perseverance of officers and men under difficulties

and disappointment, and serenity of mind amidst appalling dangers, are traits which give to biographical papers a truly exhilarating character, but they must be fresh from the heart and from the pen at the moment.

My natural life commenced the 26th day of July 1773, and I consider my public life to have terminated the 17th of October 1831,<sup>1</sup> the happy day on which I was removed by the present Whig Government from the office of Comptroller of the Navy, which I held more than sixteen years, being longer than any other person on record, except Sir Richard Haddock, who was twenty-four years 'Comptroller of the Navy and joint Admiral of the Fleet,'<sup>2</sup> a title which I have never been able to trace to its origin, but I think it must have been in the time of the Commonwealth, when suspicion as to the principles of officers made Cromwell's Council very watchful, so that reference was made to Council upon every Captain's appointment—thus Feby. 2nd, 1653, there is the following order: 'The Council having taken into consideration the Captains of the several ships contained and propounded in the following list sent to them from the Commissioners for the Admiralty, and not doubting the Commissioners have inquired into and satisfied themselves concerning the abilities of the rest, do approve of all the commanders contained in the said list, and order that the Generals of the Fleet do give commissions unto them accordingly.'

On the 27th of February 1652-3 the joint Generals of the Fleet report to the Speaker of the

<sup>1</sup> The King, by advice of his Ministers, dispensed with my services as Comptroller of the Navy.—T. B. M.

<sup>2</sup> 'Admiral of the fleet,' as a title, was not known in the 17th century. Haddock was joint Admiral and Commander-in-Chief.



House of Commons the result of an action with the Dutch ; the letter is signed ' Robert Blake, Richard Deane, and George Monk, joint Admirals of the Fleet.'<sup>1</sup>

Whatever may have been the origin of this multiplied responsibility, one may reasonably suppose its beginning and ending came pretty near together, and that no such anomaly will ever again exist.

*Cause of my Removal from Office.*

As I have commenced upon matters related to the sudden termination of my political life, which was rather mysterious at the time, I may as well at once give evidence, by a sort of inquest, to show how the deceased Comptroller came by his official death.

It was no small aggravation of my annoyances, as an unwilling associate in the Whig Government, that I had in my parliamentary capacity to give my support of their general measures.

However, in the month of April 1831, preceding the October when I was removed from my office, I made, as I may fairly say, an ingenuous avowal of my distrust of the Government, and they ought, in consequence of what then passed and in spite of Royal interference, to have insisted on my being dismissed.

The conversation I am about to relate between the First Lord of the Admiralty<sup>2</sup> and myself will show that I did not cling to office for office sake, but purely because I would not be the person to make

<sup>1</sup> The actual letter referred to is not extant ; but it was not the custom then, or till nearly 150 years later, to append the rank to the signature. In any case, the official title of Blake and his colleagues was 'Admiral and General at Sea.' They seem to have been usually addressed as 'General.'

<sup>2</sup> Sir James Graham.

the appointment of Comptroller of the Navy subject to party changes.

The Government having from the first discovered that I did not give them a uniform support, and frequently none at all by keeping away from the House, were naturally desirous to ascertain how far they could rely upon me in the extreme measures of reform which they contemplated; and as Parliament was soon to be dissolved, it was material they should ascertain more distinctly my sentiments towards them, and at the invitation of Sir James Graham I had an interview with him on the subject at the Admiralty.

I should say, in the first place, that I had from the best authority, and the kind wishes of a Whig friend,<sup>1</sup> an intimation that Lord Grey wanted only a fair pretence to recommend to his Majesty my dismissal from office. I thanked my informant, and told him to tell his Cabinet friend, if Lord Grey kept a tolerably sharp look-out, the opportunity he desired might soon occur. The very sincere friend of mine, to whom I allude, said he could not see me in so perilous a position without putting me on my guard, and again I thanked him from the very bottom of my heart. But seeing more of joy than of alarm in my manner of receiving the communication, he thought to give me a more serious view of my situation by mentioning the name of the Cabinet Minister by whom the hint was given, and the words in which it was conveyed, which were as follows:—‘We cannot get Sir Byam Martin to draw with us in Parliament; it is remarked that he very seldom attends on the Reform question: it is therefore determined to take the first opportunity to remove him from his office.’

<sup>1</sup> Sir G. Martin, a Whig, told me his friend Mr. Poulett Thompson, one of the Ministers, told him.—T. B. M.

This conversation being in the street, just opposite the United Service Club, and both of us in a hurry, I had only time to assure my friend that I rejoiced in the prospect of an event I so devoutly wished, and that I could not too soon escape from an administration whose principles became more odious as they became more clearly developed.

I have put this conversation down out of due order, as it did not occur until after the meeting of Parliament, whereas the conversation I am now about to relate took place before the dissolution, namely, on the 23rd of April, and the Parliament was dissolved the following day.

In consequence of the serious nature of the conversation, I thought it right instantly, on leaving Sir J. Graham, to go into an adjoining room and commit to writing what had passed, and the following is a copy of the paper written at the time, viz. :

‘Sir James Graham said he had taken the liberty to send for me to have some conversation respecting Plymouth; he wished to know the constitution of the borough and the right of voting, and number of voters. Having answered these questions he asked if I would support any candidate the Government might send down to oppose Sir George Cockburn. To this I gave an unhesitating negative. “No, I will not do so; Sir George Cockburn is my friend and my brother officer, and nothing shall tempt me to act so ungenerous a part towards him. I have always kept myself unconnected with any of the candidates in my several contests; I started originally with that determination, and will adhere to it, not only for my own satisfaction, but because it is in accordance with an almost understood pledge on my part that such should be my course of conduct.”

‘Sir James Graham said: “It is a great dis-



appointment to find that a person in your situation should show an unwillingness to support a Government candidate in opposition to Sir George Cockburn, who is so decidedly opposed to them."

'I replied that the course of conduct I had prescribed to myself was adopted in 1817, when Lord Liverpool was at the head of the Government. The same clashing of interests occurred then on my first election. On that occasion Sir William Congreve went to Plymouth avowedly to eject Sir Charles Pole, who had represented the borough for several years. I then used the very same expressions to the Government that I do now—that Sir Charles Pole was my brother officer and intimate friend, and that I would not be made instrumental in opposing him—and I persisted in this resolution, notwithstanding the strong expressions used by persons in the highest station, and the intimation of the displeasure I should hazard in a high quarter if the candidate (Sir W. C.) did not receive my assistance.<sup>1</sup>

'I took the occasion to remark that Sir George Cockburn had acted with much delicacy in never having spoken to me on the subject of Plymouth affairs since he had been out of office.

'Sir James Graham continued: "But if we send down a brother officer, will you join with him on the ministerial side against Sir George Cockburn?"

"No, I will not. I will adhere to the course I

<sup>1</sup> *Note by B. Martin*: 'The Prince Regent was Lord High Steward of Plymouth, and considered it a sort of right of office that he should return one of the members—at any rate the creatures about his court were desirous it should be so thought, so as to carry with them the influence such an impression would give to them with some of the electors. Bloomfield, Tyrwhitt, and Congreve were in their turn called the "Carlton House Member." When Congreve came down I was told I should give offence if I did not support him; but I refused.'

have pursued at five previous elections. I will stand alone and unconnected with any other candidate."

"But," said Sir James, "the Government must have some political influence in the borough; they must have voters belonging to the different public establishments; who is it that exercises that influence? Surely you, as Comptroller of the Navy, must have considerable power over such people."

'I replied that, as far as I knew, the people belonging to the public departments exercised their right of voting, unbiassed by any official influence; that so far was I from rearing up official voters, not one single elector had entered in the dockyard during the fourteen years I represented Plymouth, although it was in my power to do so as Comptroller of the Navy, and that then (at the moment of our conversation) out of two thousand five hundred men only three of them had votes—a fact, I observed, which those who were in the habit of imputing to the late Government a disposition to extravagant jobbing would perhaps hear with some surprise and hesitating credulity.

'Sir James Graham seemed much astonished at this statement; perhaps also at the tone in which it was made, though I did strive—and I hope in the main successfully—to guard against any expression or gesture capable of giving offence; it was, however, a difficult restraint. Here Sir James interrupted me somewhat abruptly and said, "Allow me to ask what your feelings are with respect to the present Government, whether you are disposed to give them an unqualified support in Parliament."

'I replied: "I will not commit myself to do so; but, holding the situation of Comptroller of the Navy, I am bound to give any reasonable support to the King's Ministers, be they who they may, and that I will do as far as my own honour and a sense

of propriety will permit ; but I will not on any account consent to pledge myself to an unqualified support of their measures in such times as the present, not even knowing to what extent their principles of reform may be carried. I will not put myself in a situation to be taxed hereafter with a breach of promise."

"Why," said Sir James, "you are one of the Government."

'I replied: "I am no party man; the office I hold has never been changed with the change of Ministers, and my appointment was wholly unsolicited; I had no personal acquaintance with any of the then existing administration except the First Lord of the Admiralty, and known only to him from his position as First Lord of the Admiralty, and my having my flag flying during his direction of the naval affairs of the country. My party," I added, "is the King; and the persons he may think fit to appoint as his Ministers will always have my support while I am in office, as far as I can give it without being drawn into acts which I might not be able to justify. I entertain a warm devotion to the King's service, of which his Majesty must be well aware, as I had the honour to serve under his command in every ship he ever commanded, and was Comptroller of the Navy under him when he was Lord High Admiral; it may therefore be supposed that I take a special interest in whatever may tend to promote the honour of his Government."

"But," said Sir James Graham, "you will not promise an unqualified support?"

"No, I never will permit myself to be strangled and laid at the feet of the Ministers." Sir James here interrupted me, saying, "I don't mean that." I continued: "I will not in these times commit myself to an unqualified promise to support the Govern-



ment in whatever course they may pursue, not knowing what limits their political principles and scheme of reform may have, or to what I might be led by such a pledge."

'Sir J. Graham said: "If you are not more decidedly friendly to the Government, you cannot be surprised if they send down a second Government candidate to stand for Plymouth."

'I said they might do as they pleased, that of course I should consider the second candidate appearing there as meant personal to myself; but, I repeated, they might do as they pleased, I should have full confidence in the support of old friends to secure my return.

'Sir James Graham: "It would not be intended as personal to you should a second be sent; at the same time you must be aware that the Government is anxious to be surrounded by those on whom they could depend for support."

"Yes, I am fully aware of it, and beg that you and your colleagues will do as you may think best about sending two of your friends to Plymouth."

'Sir James Graham then said, "I think we fully understand each other; you have been very explicit, and it was very necessary we should have a clear understanding upon the subject."

"Nothing," I replied, "could be more proper, or more satisfactory to me than that such explanation had been required."

'As the Parliament was to be dissolved the next day, Sir James Graham asked: "At what time do you set off for Plymouth?"

"I have ordered my carriage at eleven o'clock this day and shall then start."

'Sir James continued: "I can say nothing more until I have seen Lord Grey and reported to him what has passed between us: I am to be with his

lordship at eleven and will afterwards write you a note to say what is intended."

" "In that case," I said, "I will not set off until two o'clock."

Having, as before stated, committed the conversation to writing the instant after it occurred, I feel confident in saying it is as nearly as possible verbatim what passed.

From the Admiralty I went directly to St. James's Palace and requested Sir Herbert Taylor would ask the King to grant me an audience; but, thinking it probable his Majesty would inquire of Sir Herbert the purport of my desire, I begged he would first read the paper and tell me frankly if there was anything improper or indelicate with reference to the King in a matter showing so decided a mistrust in his Ministers.

Sir Herbert expressed himself much pleased with the paper and by all means recommended my seeing his Majesty, adding, 'You of course consider yourself out of office after speaking in such terms to the First Lord of the Admiralty?' I replied, 'Undoubtedly, and rejoiced to escape from it.'

On being introduced to the Royal presence I read the foregoing paper while Sir Herbert continued in the room. His Majesty listened with profound attention, making an occasional comment, and at the conclusion said, 'I very highly approve of the straightforward way in which you have acted, but fear it will be the cause of my losing your services at the Navy Board,' and many other complimentary expressions which I will not repeat.

His Majesty continued: 'Why cannot you remain as Comptroller of the Navy without being brought into contact with the Ministers on political questions?'

I said I had particularly requested Lord Liver-

pool, when I was first appointed to office, to excuse my being in Parliament, but his lordship said it was impossible. I told his Majesty I felt too happy in the prospect of getting away to wish for any such compromise ; but I thanked him for his kind and gracious expressions, and the interest he took about my continuing in his service as Comptroller of the Navy.

Previous to withdrawing from the Royal chamber I told the King I had put off my journey for three hours to wait the note Sir J. Graham had promised after he had reported our conversation to Lord Grey.

Lord Grey and Sir James Graham went immediately to the King, and were with his Majesty before twelve o'clock to state what had passed between Sir James and myself, and to submit to his Majesty the propriety of my removal from office. The King, as I afterwards found by a letter from Sir Herbert Taylor, suggested to his Ministers that he thought it might be managed for me to remain in office without being in Parliament, to which they were disposed to assent, but happily for me no such arrangement ever took place.

The promised note from Sir James not having arrived at half after two o'clock, and knowing the keen hand I had to deal with, I began to suspect the second candidate, threatened in our conversation, might ere that time be on his road to Plymouth, whilst I was to be detained from hour to hour for the expected note, so as to give my opponent the earlier possession of the battle ground, and under that impression I started forthwith. I was accompanied by my secretary, Mr. Gandy, and my second son, Henry Byam, who proved a most active, conciliating, and persuasive canvasser, and contributed much to my success.



We travelled all night and arrived at Plymouth at three o'clock the following afternoon, some hours before the Admiralty candidate, and time enough to make a pretty extensive and promising canvass that evening.

The promised note, as I suspected would be the case, did not reach my house till six o'clock of the evening of my leaving London, and had I been such a goose as to wait for it I should probably have lost my election by the delay. At any rate, that was the evident intention of this electioneering embargo.

The note was as follows :—

Admiralty, 23rd of April, 1831.

My dear Sir,—On reflection we have determined to send Captain Elliot<sup>1</sup> down to Plymouth, and I hope, although you may not directly support him, that he will be a colleague in every way agreeable to you. Of course the Government interest will be given to you and him conjointly.

Captain Elliot will be ready to leave town to-night. Could not you and he go together?

Very faithfully yours,  
J. R. G. GRAHAM.

Under the same cover came the following from Captain Elliot :—

My dear Sir Byam,—Pray say when you wish to start, and if you don't object to our going together I can be ready at your time.

Yours,  
G. ELLIOT.

$\frac{1}{2}$  past 5 o'clock, Admiralty.

If I had gone down to Plymouth with Captain Elliot as suggested in Sir James's few expressive

<sup>1</sup> Captain the Hon. G. Elliot, Secretary to the Board of Admiralty.

and well to be understood words, it would have gained his point by at once making it manifest to the electors that we had united our interests. It was an artful proposition designed to draw me from the independent course I had always taken, and which but a few hours before I had declared I would adhere to.

Sometimes very clever men overreach themselves in the eager pursuit of their object, and so in this instance Sir James Graham's delicate effort to couple me with Captain Elliot—'could not you and he go together?'—only made me more alive to the propriety of keeping him at arm's length.

Now for the sequel of the plot.

The very same post which brought me Sir James's letter saying 'the Government interest will of course be given to you and Captain Elliot conjointly' brought also a letter from Sir James to a gentleman of the town (from whom I had the fact) stating that Captain Elliot *only* was to be considered the Government candidate, and earnestly desiring the gentleman alluded to, and his friends, to give Captain Elliot an undivided support. Was insincerity more strongly marked? But after what I had lately heard, and from the manner in which I had been dealt with from the beginning, I may take to myself the merit of having duly estimated Sir James's words, and predicted the course he would pursue.

I have often known strange and discreditable conduct excused, or attempted to be excused, under the plea of election tricks; but premeditated deceit can have but one name, whether practised at an election or the less exciting moments of closet meditation. In this case the mischief was hatched in the concealment of the library, and to be used for the corrupt purpose of making the electors break from their previous promises. It was intended to

overthrow the person the First Lord of the Admiralty had insidiously endeavoured to entrap into a belief that the Government would give him support.

The gentleman who mentioned this circumstance to me let the secret out rather inadvertently. He knew I was still in office as Comptroller of the Navy, but ignorant of what had passed at headquarters; he came quite breathless, as an old friend, exclaiming: 'How is it that Captain Elliot is the only candidate about whom the Government take an interest?' observing at the same time that it placed him and his brother William in an awkward predicament, as they had been acquainted with me so many years, and had always given me their warm support. This attached friend added, 'But for myself, you may be assured of my vote.'

There came also a letter from Sir J. Graham to Captain Tozer of the Navy, a person entirely unknown to him, asking, or I may say almost commanding, him to give an undivided support to Captain Elliot as the Government candidate; but, to the honour of the captain be it said, he gave a plumper to Sir George Cockburn, and thus inflicted on the First Lord of the Admiralty the reproof he so well deserved for daring to influence a stranger because he happened to be a member of the profession at the head of which Sir James had been placed by his Sovereign for better purposes.

To see this Whig Government in their true colours on this occasion it would be well to look back at the chronicles of the time, to see how constantly it was their boast, in Parliament as well as at the hustings, 'that they came into office despising all influence, but that which they should acquire by their conduct as Ministers of the Crown.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Childers, in 1868, issued a notice to the service threatening with pains and penalties any one who attempted to bring



The post also brought me a letter from Sir Herbert Taylor, written by the King's desire, informing me of what had passed between his Majesty and his Ministers after my audience of the preceding morning: that Lord Grey and Sir James Graham had acceded to the King's wish that I should be allowed to withdraw from Parliament, and continue to be Comptroller of the Navy.

However flattering and kindly intended, this was a very disagreeable intimation of the Royal pleasure, and it was rendered most distressingly so by the concluding words of Sir Herbert's letter, viz., 'His Majesty commands me to say that he wishes you to write immediately to Sir James Graham and make this proposal yourself, and I am further commanded to say you are to do so with an expression of your distinct understanding that you are to continue in office as Comptroller of the Navy.'

I accordingly wrote to Sir James the same evening and thought it right to quote the words of Sir Herbert Taylor, but without directly mentioning his name.

My letter was as follows :—

Plymouth, April 24, 1831.

Dear Sir,—I have this moment received a letter intimating to me an opinion expressed by Lord Grey, in which I presume you concur, that there is no necessity for the Comptroller of the Navy to be in Parliament.

This opinion is made known to me under the highest sanction, and has been accompanied by a command from the King that I should forthwith communicate with you upon the subject ; I therefore

political or other influence to bear at the Admiralty, where merit only would be considered. As a matter of fact, the naval service did not think highly of his impartiality.

feel it to be my duty to lose no time in saying that if the duties of the office do not require the Comptroller to be in Parliament, I can have no objection to withdraw from the present contest, on the distinct understanding, however, 'that my secession from Parliament does not prevent my continuing to serve his Majesty as Comptroller of the Navy.'

I shall continue my canvass until I am favoured with your answer, and shall then regulate my proceedings accordingly.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

T. B. M.

Answer to the foregoing :—

[*Private and Confidential.*] Admiralty, 26th April, 1831.

Dear Sir,—Lord Grey did express to his Majesty an opinion that he saw no necessity for the Comptroller of the Navy to be in Parliament, and that from his experience at the Admiralty he knew the duties of the Comptroller to be so laborious as almost to be incompatible with constant attendance in the House of Commons. Secession therefore from Parliament would make no obstacle, and I hope no other would be likely to occur, to your continuing to serve his Majesty as Comptroller of the Navy.

But since your canvass is so far advanced, your connection with Plymouth established, and your understanding with me explicit that you will not favour the interest of Sir George Cockburn,<sup>1</sup> who is strongly opposed to the Government, and that, if returned, though without any specific pledge, you will be disposed to support the King's Ministers, it

<sup>1</sup> This is a wilful perversion of what I said. My expression was 'that I would not *join* with anyone in *opposition* to Sir George Cockburn, and that I would stand unconnected with either of the candidates.'—T.B.M.

is the wish of the Administration that you should not now withdraw, especially as this act on the eve of an election would secure the success of Sir George Cockburn, which we are anxious to prevent.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

J. R. G. GRAHAM.

Admiral Sir Byam Martin, G.C.B.

Was ever duplicity more marked than throughout the whole of this business? But the tale in this respect is but half told, and I will proceed.

The restrictive and generally esteemed sacred words private and confidential had no other design than to gag me; the letters so marked—and there were several of them in the course of the election—were freely handed about amongst my opponents.

The private letter from me to Sir James Graham, to which the foregoing was a reply, also found its way to the hands of the person before alluded to, with permission to use them as he might see fit. I was certainly much astonished to hear my own letter, and the reply, so fully quoted, and seeing my feeling on such disclosure, and the incredulity with which he thought I listened to him, at length told me the letters had been sent to him, and asked me to withdraw from the contest.

By this time it was pretty well ascertained that the Government candidate was going to leeward, and I was warningly solicited to withdraw, that my voters might be let loose and at liberty to support Captain Elliot. I observed to my informant that as he was in possession of the correspondence in which I had been forced by high authority to make an offer to withdraw, but that having been declined, I would now make them sensible that all their mob efforts, and revolutionary cry, should not prevail,



and that I would not on any account consent to withdraw.

In the course of this conversation my friend was so unguarded as to make a disclosure tending to show the deep and double refined baseness with which I had to contend. It came out that at the moment when I was receiving unwished for assurances of support from the Government, conjointly with Captain Elliot, Sir J. Graham wrote to this self-same agent to ask 'if any respectable gentleman of good fortune, and popular amongst the voters, could be prevailed upon to come forward in opposition to Sir Byam Martin,' mentioning by name the present Radical candidate, Mr. Bowes, as a desirable person. The answer was that 'no one would have a chance against Sir Byam Martin,' and therefore, added the agent, 'it is our only hope that he will consent to withdraw.'

My unhesitating negative completely upset my friend's calculations, and left him to seek some other means to carry out his hostile instructions.

I had much more command over myself on this occasion than might be expected. I said but little, but perhaps showed strongly by look and gesture the indignation that was burning within me.

I think such conduct leaves me at liberty to speak without reserve about letters, &c., though marked private and confidential.

The whole affair exhibits a disgusting disingenuousness of conduct rarely, if ever, equalled in the annals of electioneering license. I had however been prepared to find this quality predominating in the conduct of our new First Lord. A friend of mine, well acquainted with public characters, the son of an earl and himself a very estimable character, came to me two days after Sir J. Graham was installed as First Lord of the Admiralty to put me on

my guard, he said, against his proverbial insincerity, and I had a similar, but less direct, intimation from a Cumberland gentleman.

But let me finish the election story.

The volunteer assurance of support to me was in a very limited sense to the voters, who had each a special visit for the purpose of letting them know that I had no otherwise the good wishes of the Government than being thought on the whole a shade preferable to Sir George Cockburn, and each was asked to give a plumper to Captain Elliot, or at any rate to give him one vote and to leave the battle between Cockburn and myself if no Radical could be found to oppose us.

The Plymouth election excited much interest in the Cabinet, and throughout the whole of the West of England, and much importance was attached to the success of the Government candidate, and I know from good authority that the Ministers entertained a confident expectation that the First Lord of the Admiralty would be sure to seat Captain Elliot, if not another Radical, and, as they hoped, Mr. Bowes.

They were soon undeceived, and the moment the tide was evidently in favour of Cockburn and myself an organised mob was let loose upon us to see what could be done by intimidation and violence.

Besides the large and tumultuous population of Plymouth, already crowding the streets, there was extraordinary expedition used in bringing in auxiliary Radicals from Stonehouse, Devonport, and parts of Cornwall, making, as was computed at the time, an addition of full 15,000 men.

Heated with drink, armed with bludgeons, and led on by previously selected chiefs, mostly distinguished dissenters from the Church of England, we

were soon made to know how well they were all primed for mischief.

The first salutation from this ruffian mob was a shower of well-directed stones at the handsome windows of the Guildhall, and these missiles came in so plentifully that the hall was very speedily thinned in about an equal degree from each party.

Captain N. Lockyer (R.N.), the Mayor, was very firm, did his duty throughout with much composure, and maintained his post at the great risk of getting a broken head.<sup>1</sup> The first to fly were the lawyers, and none moved with greater celerity than the barrister who had been sent from London by the Admiralty to conduct Captain Elliot's election; he was over benches and tables with a nimbleness that I think he could not have executed in his calmer moments. It was a good riddance of bad rubbish, the great object of this worthy member of the law being to procrastinate in order to give the more scope for that intimidation from which he was the first to show white feather; he was a vulgar fellow, but I forget his name.

The cry for Sir George Cockburn by the rabble, as the most choice morsel of the two, was at this time so furious and menacing that his friends strongly urged him to withdraw, and take refuge in some part of the building upstairs.

Cockburn was more in the mouth of the mob and the object of their imprecations than myself, and his withdrawing, which was announced to the people outside, produced a momentary lull, and I continued to stick to my post with the few of those who remained, the mayor and my son Henry still standing firm. Presently the leader of the mob inside called to the chief without, 'Be quiet now and we are sure

<sup>1</sup> As was to be expected from a naval officer who had done good service in the twenty years' war.



of success ; ' but still the rioting and clamour within as well as without was very great. I, however, good humouredly took advantage of what had been said to remark that 'as they seemed certain of the election why not let us proceed and bring it to a close ?' This had a good effect for a few minutes, but seeing our friends so staunch, and that Cockburn and myself continued to gain upon the Government candidate, the uproar was renewed, and the pelting worse than ever, and it was truly wonderful how we escaped a fresh volley of stones, which struck several of us but without much mischief.

After about an hour of this noisy scene I remarked to the mayor that as no more voters presented themselves I was entitled to call upon him to declare the state of the poll, which, after waiting and making proclamation several times, he at last did with great composure, and a voice that they were sure to hear outside, since there were no windows remaining to interrupt the sound.

The declaration of the poll placed me the highest, and Cockburn next, leaving the Government candidate far away behind, so that he had only exactly half my number.

Before I take leave of the hustings, let me record the other, remarkable proofs we had of Sir James Graham's boasted abhorrence of official influence in the glorious freedom of election.

Freedom and purity of election, as I have before remarked, were the words ever uppermost in the mouths of our reforming Ministers ; the decoy words by which to entrap the silly unthinking multitude ; they were on the tip of every man's tongue—quite a matter they thought to make a song about, the concluding line of which ought to have been :

Great talkers do the least

After what had occurred in the preceding week nothing in the shape of Whiggish trickery and dishonest influence ought to have surprised me; but I confess I was utterly astonished and could scarcely believe my own eyes when, in the middle of the Guildhall fight, the cheers of the mob announced the arrival of Admiral Sir William Hargood to support the Radical Government candidate.

Sir William, my oldest shipmate for four years' continuance—my friend, as I before thought him—was found (shame upon him!) so prompt in his submission to official influence (and the hope of the Red ribbon which he had earned at Trafalgar) that it was scarcely an effort to him at sixty-eight years of age, and with a bad cold upon him, to travel all night in the mail coach to vote against his friend, and in favour of a person he had never before seen.

When Hargood entered the hall I at once knew his evil purpose, and thought to give him a gentle reproof by an ironical remark on his appearance amongst us. I rose immediately to address him in the most thankful strain for flying to the support of his two brother officers, Sir Geo. Cockburn and myself; that I took it as a mark of honest disinterested friendship that scorned all corrupt influence.

Hargood looked exceedingly foolish; he gave his plumper to the Government candidate, and, having received the complimentary cheers of the mob, he walked off like a man who has done a deed of which he was ashamed.

Will the reader believe (if ever this is read) that his Most Gracious Majesty William the IVth, at the instigation of that notorious jobber, Tommy Tyrwhitt, made Hargood commit this ungenerous act, which I verily believe was sincerely annoying to

him? He said to me, 'I have been forced to do what I have done ;' but his rank in the service and position with two brother admirals ought to have made him stout in resisting so base a mandate.

Hargood had scarcely made his exit from the Guildhall when another of Sir James Graham's men arrived, ushered in also by the cheers of the mob. This was no less a personage than Mr. Tucker, one of the surveyors of the navy, a member of the Board of which I still remained the tottering chief. He came down, as he confessed, by command of the Admiralty and was allowed to have the Navy Board yacht to bring him round to vote against me. Let me, however, freely acknowledge that I had no claim to support from this person ; he is the last man breathing from whom I would condescend, or of whose support I should have been more completely ashamed ; yet, to give the devil his due, he did apologise for appearing there in opposition to me, and let the cat out of the bag by repeating to me what he had whispered to others—that the Admiralty had sent him down.

The third official gentleman who joined the ranks against Cockburn and myself was Sir Michael Seymour, at the time serving under my orders. Sir Michael was a very old acquaintance and had received much and deserved consideration and attention from me in my capacity of Comptroller of the Navy ; but on this occasion he seconded the nomination of my opponent, and did me what damage he could, as well by word as by the influence he had as an old resident in the town, and the position he held under me at the time. Nothing tended so much as this to my prejudice.

How true it is, when man or woman can once be prevailed upon to swerve from the line of virtue, in whatever sense we take the word, that there is a



viciousness in our nature which disdains all restraint ! So, in accordance with this feeling Sir Michael was no sooner converted to a reformer than he became the willing mouthpiece of the Admiralty, and forgot the better feelings of old friendship.

The reforming Admiralty, who would have it thought they scorned to interfere in elections, and so often asserted that they only wished to exist as a government by the spontaneous support of the country, contrived by promises and threats to make three out of four of the dockyard voters to go against me—another of the many proofs of what was meant by my having the Government interest conjointly with Captain Elliot.

Two days before the election, who should arrive at Plymouth but Lord Ebrington, the intimate friend and supporter of the new administration, a desperate Whig, and extreme in his notions of reform !

His lordship was the member for the county in the last Parliament, and at this time again in the field as a candidate, and had a commanding influence over the swarm of Radicals at Plymouth, and it was chiefly through him that his most intimate companion, the Magnus Apollo of the administration, Lord John Russell, became his colleague in the representation of the county.

The object of Lord Ebrington's visit was to try and carry Elliot's election, as he avowedly believed that the success of the elections in the west of the kingdom would much depend on the triumph of the party at Plymouth.

Immediately after Lord Ebrington's arrival Captain Elliot asked to see me upon an important matter, which turned out to be a proposal that I should withdraw from the contest in order to secure this return.

All this perplexity and vexation arose from the old King's meddling interference, and making me

write to Sir James Graham to propose keeping office without being in Parliament.

Elliot said he was authorised to quote Lord Ebrington as speaking, under authority, the wishes of the Government that I should withdraw. I at once declined to hold any conversation on the subject, and desired, if Lord Ebrington or he had anything more to say, it might be stated in writing. To this Captain Elliot seemed disinclined, and asked if I would have any objection to a personal interview with Lord Ebrington. I said I had the greatest possible objection, and would hold no sort of conversation on the subject.

In about two hours a letter was handed to me from Captain Elliot, of which the following is a copy :—

Plymouth, April 29th, 1831.

My dear Sir Byam,—I have had a most confidential communication with Lord Ebrington on the appearance of the contest here, and find him most fully convinced that if Sir George Cockburn is inevitably to succeed, it would be much more agreeable to the Government that you should withdraw than me, because my failure (though in fact only owing to the field having been occupied by Sir George Cockburn's friends two days before my arrival) might have the appearance and all the bad effects of political defeat on the part of the only decided Government candidate.

Under these circumstances, and taking into consideration your letter to Sir James Graham of the 24th and his answer of the 26th, Lord Ebrington and myself are most decidedly of opinion that it is now essential to the influence of the Government in this part of the country that you should withdraw before the commencement of the election.

Yours,  
G. ELLIOT.

To this I gave a prompt and decided negative, and the contest closed, as I have before said, triumphantly in favour of Cockburn and myself.

As I profess to despise all chronological order in my memoranda I make no apology for placing at the beginning of this volume events of such recent occurrence, and many things will be found equally misplaced as I proceed.

The Parliament met in June with a swaggering speech from the throne, and then commenced in earnest the ministerial scheme of reform, or, as some thought, of revolution, and every measure they suggested was adopted by the new Parliament.

At length Lord Ebrington thought fit to move a vote of confidence in Ministers, to which I could not accede, and the consequence was the following letter from Sir James Graham :—

Admiralty, October 16, 1831.

Sir,—In obedience to the King's commands I have the honour to inform you that his Majesty was this day pleased to signify to me his intention of dispensing with your services in the situation of Comptroller of the Navy.

I have the honour to be &c.,

J. R. G. GRAHAM.

Admiral Sir Byam Martin, G.C.B.

In point of fact this letter required no answer ; but as it so happened that I had been sent for by the King the day before, his Majesty took occasion, when speaking of the state of parties, to do me the honour to say he hoped nothing would induce me to give up my office, which I took as a compliment to me professionally, and not from any personal feeling of regard.

With these words fresh in my recollection, I



thought I might as well put the saddle on the right horse by bringing Sir James Graham to a confession of the real truth. I therefore sent him the following letter :—

Navy Office, October 17, 1831.

Sir,—I have just now had the honour to receive your letter dated yesterday, in which you signify to me the King's intention of dispensing with my services as Comptroller of the Navy.

Having entered the naval service 46 years ago under the immediate command of his Majesty, and having up to the present time received expressions of his Majesty's entire approbation of my conduct, you will allow me to ask under what circumstances his Majesty has been induced to cancel these cherished expressions of his good wishes and confidence.

I have the honour to be, &c.

T. B. M.

Right Honourable Sir J. Graham.

To this letter I received an answer the next day :—

Sir,—Although I am not prepared to admit the right of a public officer to inquire into the circumstances under which his Majesty may be pleased to cancel his appointment, yet on the present occasion I have no hesitation in stating that his Majesty has decided in conformity with the advice of his responsible and confidential servants.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. R. G. GRAHAM.

After the receipt of this letter I had the honour of an audience of the King, who received me very

graciously, and expressed in kind terms his regret at what had taken place.

I put into his Majesty's hands the two foregoing letters and said : ' So far, Sir, am I from complaining of the conduct of the Government towards me, that I think they have done what was perfectly right and their bounden duty. They have long been aware of my disinclination to support them in Parliament, and seeing, on the occasion of Lord Ebrington's motion for a vote of confidence in Ministers, that I could not assent to such a proposition, they had just grounds to say that the man ' who is not with them on such an occasion must be considered as against them,' and it was their duty as a government to recommend my removal from office. I am happy, Sir, to be freed from such a connection without actually resigning an office never hitherto changed with a change of Government.'

His Majesty did me the honour to appear much affected, even to the shedding of tears ; he said, ' You know my name is used as a mere matter of course, but it is in fact the act of the Ministers ; but be assured what has taken place will make no difference in my opinion of your long and meritorious services. I shall always feel the greatest regard for you, and, though out of office, I shall always be glad to see you when you call at the palace and send your name up.'

I thanked his Majesty for his expressions of approbation and regard, and his condescending desire to see me occasionally, and I rose to take my leave, whereupon the King desired I would keep my seat, observing that he wished to have some conversation with me, and so we went on about naval affairs, and then matters foreign and domestic—but I leave a blank that I may consider of the propriety of stating what was freely and confidentially said of

persons of the highest rank and station of both parties. It was one of his Majesty's failings to be very unguarded in his opinions, of which, when he was Lord High Admiral, I once reminded him, and he thanked me very cordially, saying he saw the force of my observation and the necessity of great reserve in his professional opinions.

I have inadvertently destroyed two sheets of the curious and interesting conversation I had on the above occasion with his Majesty—what I find of it goes on to state as follows:—

Speaking of the clamour for reform I observed it was persons high in office who tried to inflame the public feeling upon a question of so excitable a nature and that the country was endangered by those whose duty it was to show a better example.

*W. GORDON TO B. MARTIN.*

Chelsea, Monday night, October 17, 1831.

My dear Martin,—I read with some surprise and very great regret your note of this day. It has been my lot to witness many personal changes in public life, but I can safely say that none has concerned me more than this. Long friendship, the kindest attention, public and private, had induced me to look upon the Comptroller of the Navy as one of ourselves, and I always felt that we acted together as one and the same department, and I shall miss you at all times, but especially in these times, more than I can express.

The service of 46 years—distinguished, laborious, and highly useful [years]—might, I should humbly think, have met with a steadier support from an old shipmate in high authority than the parting expression of 'you will be like a fish out of water.'



However, this sort of thing is part and parcel of that species of cattle, and must, from circumstances of station &c. &c., always remain so, and is more to be smiled at and pitied than felt with any other more serious sensation.

Ever yours with the greatest regard, most faithfully,  
W. GORDON.<sup>1</sup>

*CAPTAIN PRESCOTT TO B. MARTIN.*

Farnham, Surrey, October 19, 1831.

Dear Sir,—Although I was not entirely unprepared for the event which your letter announced to me this morning, yet it has occasioned me a severe shock. Perhaps, however, as far as you are concerned, your friends ought rather to rejoice at your escape from a situation of great anxiety and fatigue than to regret that you are not to continue to benefit the service and the country by the sacrifice of your own ease and comfort. Your retirement awakens in my breast many affecting recollections. I am indebted to you for more than you yourself can understand. My appointment to the *Aurora* gave me a consequence in my poor father's eyes which secured me his inheritance, while it added to my own fortune, and rescued me from a life of solicitation. Would that there were any prospect of my being able to evince my gratitude!

My friend Mr. Tappen the architect being dead, I have no means of aiding your search for a town house. I hope to see you once more before you leave Somerset Place, and with our united best respects to Lady Martin,

I remain, dear Sir,  
Your ever grateful and faithful servant,  
H. PRESCOTT.

<sup>1</sup> General Sir W. Gordon, Quartermaster-General.

*E. W. ELLIOT TO B. MARTIN.*

Ramsgate, October 20th, 1831.

My dear Sir Byam,—It was only yesterday that I heard of your having resigned the office you have held for so many years with as much benefit to the service as credit to yourself. Whatever may have been the motive which led to this determination, I cannot withhold the assurance that, in or out of office, you will find me, with every feeling of regard,

Most faithfully and sincerely yours,

E. W. ELLIOT.

*W. SHIELDS<sup>1</sup> TO B. MARTIN.*

Exeter, 21st October, 1831.

Dear Sir Byam,—I am at a loss to decide whether I should condole with you or congratulate you on leaving office. Judging of the matter by my own feelings it would be the latter, because I am convinced it will be greatly for your comfort. I was one of those who were of opinion you could not go on with the reformers, and I have often wished that you had left the Navy Office to them on the Duke of Wellington going out. I dare say there are many candidates for the situation you are about to leave, but where will be one found fit for it? Few are aware of the labours and difficulties of the office.

I sincerely hope that the release from the anxious cares you have been for so many years subject to will be the means of restoring you to perfect health, which, be assured, no one wishes more than I do.

<sup>1</sup> A captain of 1794; commanded the *Audacious* in the Mediterranean under Hotham in 1795; served under Nelson in the Gulf of Genoa and afterwards in the North Sea. He was for many years resident commissioner at Plymouth, and retired in 1821 with the rank of rear-admiral.

My wife and daughter desire to join with me in most kind regards to Lady and Miss Martin and yourself, and I remain, with sincere regard, ever,  
 dear Sir Byam,

Your friend and humble servant,  
 WM. SHIELDS.

*D. ROWLAND TO B. MARTIN.*

Haverfordwest, Oct. 21, 1831.

Dear Sir,—It was with painful regret that I read in the papers an account of your leaving the Navy Board, where you have so many years presided; however, as we live in strange times, no individual, however useful, however valuable his talents may be, is safe or even bordering on it for one moment. You will carry with you my grateful thanks for your constant kindness and courteous deportment—in this respect I trust I am not by any means singular; and let me entreat you to bear in remembrance that talents such as you possess for quickness of perception and experience in official details, accompanied with a tact for organising arrangements on a large scale, cannot be permitted long to lay dormant when I know from an experience of upwards of 36 years that such talents are nowadays very rare. I shall conclude with requesting the favour of you to accept of my best wishes for yourself and your family, and that my fervent prayers may attend you, whether you may continue in private or public life; and may that valuable blessing, health, be restored to you, is the warmest wishes of the heart of him who will always be,

Dear Sir, your very humble servant,

D. ROWLAND.

P.S.—I do not know whether you administer the duties of your valuable and important office now.



This post conveys a request for one week's further leave. My friend's opponents have protracted the election by the introduction of fabricated parole promises of leases, which, I am sorry to add, the assessor (Mr. Sergt. Russell) has thought fit to admit as good voters in many cases. The election ought to have ended the 19th with a majority of 109 in favour of my friend ; fears are now entertained that the mushroom votes will reduce the majority and place it (to me) the wrong side. A petition will of course follow.

*SIR JOHN CONROY TO B. MARTIN.*

[*Private.*]

Claremont, 21st Oct., 1831.

My dear Sir Byam,—I am favoured with your note of the 19th.

Her Royal Highness desires me to convey to you her very best thanks for your attention to her in her late removal.

Her Royal Highness wishes me also to observe, that no one has ever rendered her service in a more agreeable manner than yourself, and her Royal Highness hopes to be able to say so, to you, at Kensington next season.

Believe me always, my dear Sir Byam,

Yours very faithfully,

JOHN CONROY.<sup>1</sup>

*SIR R. G. KEATS TO B. MARTIN.*

Naval Hospital, Greenwich, Oct. 22, 1831.

My dear Sir Byam,—I do not know whether I did not hear with almost as much satisfaction as concern of your retirement from the duties of the high office which you have so long and so honourably discharged. For after a career of so much

<sup>1</sup> Comptroller of the Duchess of Kent's Household.

activity and duration you have a right and your family have a claim to see you resting from your labours. In the enjoyment of their society, and in possession I trust of the liberal reward of your country—no officer can retire with more important or more honourable services—for 42 years I have watched and admired them, and it cannot fail to be a source of double comfort to you to know and feel that you carry with you the regard and esteem of the whole Service. These are, my good friend, solid comforts; and I trust as your principles and conduct are well known you will not in this tempest of political excitement suffer any vexatious occurrences to disturb your quiet and enjoyment.

Accept, and I pray make acceptable to Lady Martin and your family, our affectionate and kindest regards, and believe me, my dear Sir Byam,

Always faithfully yours,

R. G. KEATS.

*J. W. FANSHAWE TO LADY [BYAM] MARTIN.*

[Undated; about October 22, 1831.]

My dear Sister,—I have heard with real concern that the country has lost Sir Byam from the situation he lately held. For himself, my dear Sister, a rest from the many and arduous duties he has had to perform for many years may, I think, be a relief, but many, very many, will lament his removal from office where his active kindness must have made many friends, and where his upright and zealous exertions must have made him esteemed by all. Sincerely shall we rejoice in any circumstance that may give us an opportunity of seeing more of you all, and I do therefore hope that you may find a house somewhat in our neighbourhood. Give my kindest love to dear Catherine—I fear it will be

some days before I can call upon her—also to all around you, and believe me ever, my dear Sister,

Your very affectionate,

J. W. FANSHAWE.

*E. LAWS<sup>1</sup> TO B. MARTIN.*

Pembroke Yard, 23rd October, 1831.

Sir,—I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your note, and to return my most grateful thanks for the good opinion you have been pleased to entertain of my services. I assure you nothing could be more flattering to my feelings than the contents of your note, and I trust I shall continue to merit your commendation.

Pray allow me to say it is my ardent wish, on your retiring from your high and laborious office, that you may have health and all the blessings this world can give, and I should but be too glad to show my gratitude at any time it might be in my power to comply with your commands.

I am, Sir, with great respect,

Your most faithful servant,

E. LAWS.

Admiral Sir T. Byam Martin, G.C.B., M.P.

*SIR P. BROKE<sup>2</sup> TO B. MARTIN.*

Broke Hall, Oct. 23, 1831.

My dear Sir Byam,—My son has just shown me Lady Martin's kind note—and I cannot resist the desire I feel to tell you how distressed I feel not only for the comfort of an old friend thus disturbed, but for the Service we belong to, and which is to lose so experienced and able a director in so important

<sup>1</sup> Storekeeper of Pembroke Yard.

<sup>2</sup> Rear-Admiral Sir Philip Broke, Bart., the captor of the Chesapeake in 1813; he died January 2, 1841.



a department ! I wish you may find a pleasant house and we shall be happy to know where it is, and more so to see you and Lady Martin here if anything brings you so far out of the world. My poor invalid wife and Philip<sup>1</sup> unite in kind regards to you and all, with,

My dear Sir Byam, yours most sincerely,  
P. BROKE.

*LADY GORE TO LADY MARTIN.*

My dear Lady Martin,—I believe my good man is writing to yours, and I will take advantage of the opportunity to say to you, my dear dismissed friends, how much I hope to profit by your houseless state, and how very happy it will make me to receive you at Datchet if you can find us a little spare time. I can well imagine the mixed feeling you must have, on this liberal-spirited removal of your good husband by our lords and masters, and I only wish you had been in my place at dinner at the Castle yesterday to have heard the King and the Princess Augusta speak of him : the King said, ‘ No man ever retired with cleaner hands or with more perfect consciousness of having been a good and faithful servant than Sir Byam Martin. He is an excellent man, and has been an excellent Comptroller of the Navy.’

We unite in every kind and sincere regard to you all, and pray believe

Your very sincere friend,  
GEORGIANA GORE.<sup>2</sup>

Datchet, Sunday [October 23, 1831].

I have passed ten very anxious days nursing my little James through a very severe illness ; thank God he is doing quite well.

<sup>1</sup> Broke's eldest son.

<sup>2</sup> The wife of Admiral Sir John Gore, K.C.B.

*C. M. HIBBARD TO LADY MARTIN.*

Munden, near Watford, Herts, Octr. 24th, 1831.

My dear Lady Byam Martin,—I cannot resist writing to you, I am so vexed and chagrined at the vile Ministers—whom I hate and detest more than is becoming a Christian should hate anything—but they are a vile set and have ruined our country. I had always thought the Comptroller of the Navy was a place for life. I know not, nor I care not, whom they may be pleased to appoint, but this I know, they never will get a more faithful or a better servant than Sir Byam has been to the nation. Do write me a few lines and tell me when you leave Somerset Place, and what your plans are. Be assured, dear Lady Byam, I am very sincerely attached to you and yours.

So poor Palk has lost his Commissionership, and a most heavy loss it is ; they must leave their nice little house in Park Square, and have house and chambers in one. We have only to hope Palk will get on in his profession ; he really ought, as he is very clever and very industrious.

The times, dear Lady Martin, are most melancholy—our country ruined, and the fear and dread of that most horrible disorder the cholera coming amongst us, and I am sure we are wicked enough, as a nation, to deserve any chastisement.

When may I hope to see you here? I should have such real pleasure from your company and of any part of your family that would do me the favour to accompany you.

God bless you ! dear Lady Byam Martin.

Believe me your affectionate friend,

C. M. HIBBARD.



*H. LEGGE TO B. MARTIN.*

Swan Inn Hotel, Octr. 24th, 1831.

My dear Sir Byam,—Your very kind letter has this moment been put into my hands, and I cannot allow the horses to be changed before I thank you a thousand times for the trouble which you have taken ; a great part of which might have been spared both to you and Sir Henry by the information that your uncle, Mr. S. Martin, died before the 3rd of January, 1792. That fact alone was enough for me, as I thought I had explained in my former letter from hence. Messrs. Clement have received your letter ; that which you promise them from Sir Henry is not yet arrived.

I do not know how to express the indignation which I feel at the treatment that you have received from Lord Grey and his odious myrmidons. Lord St. Vincent would almost have given his two ears to dismiss Sir Andrew Hamond, but he did not dare, because Sir A. sat by the King's patent : this I know from Admiral Markham, who gave that as a reason for allowing him to remain Comptroller of the Navy, in my presence, before I had a seat at the Board. You may, however, have the comfort of considering yourself a martyr in the cause of your country, and I am sure that I heartily wish you to be as happy without official trouble, anxiety, and responsibility, as I have been ever since I resigned. I hope, however, that you will not be treated as I was upon the subject of retired allowance.

I am now on my way to Sandhurst, but I do not expect to be at home before Friday.

Concluding that you are not yet dismissed from your house, I shall direct to Somerset Place.



With kind regards to Lady Martin and your family, believe me to be,

My dear Sir Byam,

Yours ever very truly and very gratefully,  
H. LEGGE.

*DR. MORTON TO B. MARTIN.*

Brighton, 36 Western Street, 24 Oct.

My dear Sir,—Your letter dispatched on the 20th only reached me this morning, owing to a slight misreading of the direction.

A letter so very kind and so entirely undeserved requires an immediate acknowledgment, but I dare not trust myself to enlarge upon it, because I should weary you at a very busy moment ; I shall therefore only add that this closing note of our long official intercourse I shall preserve, to exhibit to my friends as a proof that your long tried and undeviating friendliness did not waver at a season when far weightier matters were pressing upon you, and that the desire to do justice to those who had been so fortunate as to secure your esteem overcame all other considerations in that trying hour.

I am, my dear Sir, and shall always continue,  
Your obliged and faithful friend and servant,

W. MORTON.<sup>1</sup>

*T. ATKINSON TO B. MARTIN.*

Exeter, Oct. 25, 1831.

Sir,—The very circumstances of your being superseded in the office of Comptroller-General of the Navy speaks volumes in favour of your

<sup>1</sup> See *post*, p. 278.

judgment and independence of political principle, and must be the means of gaining you proselytes from that part of the community whose opinions deserve respect ; from that class of men, I repeat, who seek for a safe and temperate reform, and wish to correct defects and abuses in Church and State without endangering the constitution of the country as by law established.

I say, Sir, you have assumed a dignified character in being added a victim of the intolerance of our present Radical administration, and are entitled, as a matter of right, to the gratitude and esteem of your humble

And most obedient servant,

THOMAS ATKINSON.

P.S.—Your colleague, Sir G. Cockburn, deserves my warmest thanks for his manly conduct on a late occasion.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Byam Martin, K.C.B., M.P., London.

*ADMIRAL SIR H. B. NEALE TO B. MARTIN.*

My dear Martin,—The 'Courier' has given us a notification of your departure from the Navy Board, although there has been no expression of that change having been carried into effect ; but notwithstanding, I conclude from the acrimonious temper of the times that all I read is to be carried into execution. I shall be very angry if any unhandsome conduct is adopted upon this occasion towards you, who have without flattery so long and honourably served your country both afloat and on shore. You

<sup>1</sup> Probably alluding to the Plymouth Election ; see *ante*, pp. 255-7.

ought immediately to have a baronetage; your services entitle you to it, and it will be dishonourable if Ministers do not give it upon fair and public grounds. When you quit your residence in Somerset House it would delight us beyond measure if Lady Martin, yourself, and family would come to Walhampton, and pass your Christmas over with us; we would make no ceremony, and Eliza may make as many drawings as she likes. As I write without reserve to you, it occurs to my mind that when Parliament reassembles for the consideration of the new Reform Bill, that, were I in your situation, I would follow exactly the same course you have hitherto done and stay away from the House, should the Bill be still so objectionable as not to meet your approval. But should it be modified as under a consideration of all circumstances to be desirable to pass it, I would then support it; but I would not now oppose the measure circumstanced as you are, even in its old garb. How lamentably the bishops are assailed by the press! commenced by Lord Grey in the House of Peers. People in the violence of a party spirit seem to forget that the King is the head of the spiritual as well as the political body of this country, and that, therefore, the bishops ought also to exercise temporal as well as spiritual influence, as delegated by the Crown to them, in order that they may by a wholesome check, when a temporal preponderance is likely to overbalance and to endanger the Church, afford their protection, and save it if they can. If they are to be debarred the exercise of all political influence, what power can they have in the State to stem the tide of levelling principles that would overturn the Church?—and that is now in full operation to do so. Give my kindest regards to Lady Martin and to all your family. Lady Neale continues



tolerably well, and with the Rebouls unite in all good wishes, &c. &c.

Believe me, my dear Martin,

Ever truly yours,

H. NEALE.

Walhampton, Oct. 25th (1831).

*DR. SEYMOUR TO B. MARTIN.*

Board of Health, College of Physicians, Oct. 28th, 1831.

Dear Sir,—I laid before the Board last night your resignation. I am sure you must be aware what real pain it gave every member of the Board.

I enclose you the subsequent resolution of the Board, and beg you will allow me to say at the same time than none of its members can feel more truly and sincerely than I do, the loss of so eminent a colleague and so kind a friend.

Believe me to be, dear Sir,

Your obliged and faithful,

EDWARD J. SEYMOUR, M.D.

To Sir T. Byam Martin, &c. &c. &c.

*BOARD OF HEALTH TO B. MARTIN.*

Board of Health, College of Physicians, Oct. 27, 1831.

Present, Dr. Morton in the chair.

Hon. Edward Stewart, Sir Jas. Macgregor, Sir Wm. Burnett, Sir Wm. Pym, Dr. Turner, Holland and Macmichael.

The letter announcing the resignation of Admiral Sir T. Byam Martin, as a member of the Board of Health having been read, it was

Resolved—‘That the Board express their deep regret at the loss of the services and co-operation of a gentleman whose zeal and ability rendered him so

valuable a colleague, and that the Secretary be requested to convey these their unanimous sentiments to Sir T. Byam Martin.'

*LORD WYNFORD TO B. MARTIN.*

[October 1831.]

My dear Sir Byam,—I hoped that the newspapers were only telling their deputies the Ministers what they wished them to do, and not truly informing us of what they had done. But a letter from my dearest Anne this morning conveys to us the intelligence that Ministers are determined to have nothing to do with honest men, and that the country is on that account only to be deprived of your services. As far as regards yourself, I hope that what you suffer in your pocket will be more than made up to you in health. But I believe Comptrollers of the Navy or Chamberlains to the Queen were never before removed from office on petitional grounds. A reforming government never before attempted to carry corruption by intimidation and by increase of patronage further than it was ever carried even by Sir Robert Walpole. I pity the poor King. He has not energy to defend himself. He has his friends torn from him one by one, and I fear he will at last find himself in the wretched unprotected situation of one of his unhappy predecessors. God grant that his yielding to the unreasonable desires of his Ministers may not lead to the same consequences as to the unfortunate Charles. Perhaps you may soon be requested to quit your house. We shall be happy to have you all for our guests as long as we stay here, and when we go to Bath our house and everything in it is at your service.

Present our kind regards to Lady Martin and  
the young ladies,

And believe me, my dear Sir Byam,

Ever most faithfully yours,

WYNFORD.

*SIR R. G. KEATS TO B. MARTIN.*

R. H. Greenwich, Novr. 1831.

My dear Sir Byam,—I return with many thanks  
the statement<sup>1</sup> of which you have been so good to  
give me the perusal.

To my mind justification was never more com-  
plete; it is clear, candid, and convincing—shows  
you took particular pains not to be misunderstood—  
and leaves not the shadow of a doubt of the plain,  
manly, and honourable line of conduct which under  
circumstances of considerable difficulty you observed  
throughout.

With reference to that part of our conversation  
which touched on the propriety of giving circulation  
to the paper, I am still of opinion that you, your  
conduct and character are too well known to require  
any explanation whatever; if however it should  
be otherwise thought, I am quite satisfied of the  
delicacy and propriety of the omission of the letters  
you propose, and perhaps you would feel disposed  
to confine the circulation to your own particular  
friends.

I am always, with great truth and esteem,

Faithfully yours,

R. G. KEATS.

<sup>1</sup> This probably refers in the main to the statement on pp.  
239-264.



*Vicissitudes of a Sea Life.*

Naval people may be considered, more than any other class, the sport of chance. In spite of ourselves we are so often governed by the chapter of accidents that officers of the greatest talents, and possessing in an eminent degree the most precious of naval virtues—namely, zeal to an unflinching degree—are often comparatively unknown, while others, of sluggish habits, who do just enough to keep their heads above water in the profession, are often hurried on by accidental circumstances, and a flow of good fortune, to the attainment of honours and riches, scarcely ever making an effort to obtain them.

I myself have been greatly favoured by chance circumstances and good fortune, but I may without presumption assert that I worked with energy.

Perhaps the case of Sir Edward Codrington affords as striking an instance as can be produced of the ease with which a pet child of good fortune may almost sit still and find the golden ball fall into his lap, while others have exhausted a long life in looking for it.

Sir Edward resigned the command of the *Druid*, of 32 guns, in January 1797, the most active period of the war, and went to enjoy the sports of the field and the luxury of home. Whether he was influenced by any political feeling I cannot venture to say, but it was the time when his friends, the Whigs, were vehement in reprobation of the war and wild in their admiration of the revolutionary struggle then going on in France, and many persons of high degree in different professions did not conceal their sympathy in the sentiments of those who, from party feeling, stigmatised the war as unprovoked and cruel.

Those whom Sir Edward had left behind to bear

the heat and brunt of the battle, and who I know sincerely regretted his absence, were almost in despair of his coming back, when, about July 1805, after an absence of eight years, he returned to his professional pursuits.

The first I heard of Sir Edward being again amongst us was a letter from himself telling me of his appointment to the *Orion*, of 74 guns.

In this letter he spoke of having been so long absent from the service that everything was quite new to him, and as I had just arrived in the *Impétueux* from the Channel Fleet, he begged me to answer a long string of questions, and I was gratified by this proof of his friendly recollection and confidence.

I was much pleased with this letter; it showed an anxious desire to connect the broken link in his service by ascertaining what new habits had been introduced during his absence, and every line in the letter marked the earnest zealous feeling with which he had broken from his loitering on shore for the nobler pursuits of his profession.

When Codrington had completed the equipment of the *Orion* the first order he received pushed him into the stream of Nelson's glorious career—an order which no man ever received but with a feeling of pride and delight; it was as good as the best prize in the lottery to be placed under such a man. Thus Codrington shared in the honours of the ever-memorable battle of Trafalgar on the 21st of October, 1805, and it may be imagined that this increased his relish for a profession in which he has since been distinguished and now holds the highest rank.

Amongst other adventitious occurrences in our profession I may mention the case of my old and respected friend, Admiral [Joseph] Bullen.

After his ship<sup>1</sup> had been destroyed by the batteries at Bastia in 1794, he continued to serve throughout the siege with distinguished bravery in the advanced battery under the immediate command of his old captain and friend, Captain Horatio Nelson, afterwards so distinguished, as indeed he ever had been, by his truly gallant and energetic conduct. When the siege was over, Bullen embarked with me on board the *Modeste* for a passage to England, and was with me seven months.

In 1796 I obtained leave of absence for a week from the ship I then commanded, the *Santa Margarita*, then refitting at Plymouth, and the first person I met on my arrival in London was Bullen, then holding the rank of Commander. My time was precious, and our conversation consequently short. I said, 'Bullen, I am to rejoin my ship again on such a day and you must go with me.' He laughed and remonstrated and, soured at not having been promoted, swore he would never again put his foot on board ship. 'Besides, what shall I get beyond the pleasure of your company by such a trip?' I replied, 'There are many French frigates known to be at sea at the present time, and if we can lay hands upon one of them it may be the means of your getting a post commission without thanks to any one.' Bullen laughed and said, 'I have been so accustomed to do as you tell me that I will take care to be ready at the appointed time.'

We set off accordingly; sailed in two days for Cork, and thence proceeded with the *Unicorn*, of 32 guns, Captain Thomas Williams (since Sir Thomas),

<sup>1</sup> The *Proselyte*, one of the captures from Toulon. Bullen was at first acting captain of her, but was superseded by Walter Serocold, and remained with him as a volunteer. Both of them served on shore at Bastia, and afterwards at the siege of Calvi, where Serocold was slain.



and fell in with a French squadron consisting of the *Tribune*, *Thames*, and *La Légère*.

The capture of the two <sup>1</sup> former was received with so much approbation at the Admiralty that I ventured to make a special request to Lord Spencer in favour of Bullen, and received an answer telling me in very flattering terms that he could not promote Bullen avowedly from his having been my companion, as it would establish a very inconvenient precedent, and that every captain of a frigate might in that case be tempted to take a friend on speculation; but, added his lordship, 'I am very glad to mark my warm approbation of so gallant an affair by assuring you that Captain Bullen shall very soon have a post commission.'

In the course of a few weeks Bullen was appointed to act as captain of the *Alexander*, of 74 guns, and was confirmed in the rank of post captain on being superseded by the return of her proper captain.

With ships, as with officers, *Dame Fortune* often shows herself to be a very capricious jade. I could fill a volume with instances of the wonderful prosperity which has attended particular ships, so that, wherever they went, a lucky star seemed to be before them.

The *Bellerophon* is the first that occurs to me at the present moment.

She has been in more actions than any other ship in the navy. At the commencement of the war she bore the flag of Rear-Admiral Pasley in the battle fought by Lord Howe on the 1st of June, 1794, in which the *Bellerophon* took a distinguished part, and Admiral Pasley lost his leg.

In 1795 she was one of 5 sail of the line and

<sup>1</sup> The *Tribune* by the *Unicorn* after a long chase, the *Thames* by the *Santa Margarita*.

2 frigates under Admiral Cornwallis when he made his slow and well-ordered defensive retreat when attacked by 18 sail of the line and 10 frigates.

In 1798 she bore a conspicuous part in the battle of the Nile, where out of 580 men she had 197 killed and wounded.

In the battle of Trafalgar she was commanded by Captain John Cooke, my old and much-respected friend, who in the midst of his heroic exertions, when engaged with two ships of superior force, received a mortal wound. Unmoved by the entreaty of his officers to allow himself to be taken below, he resisted their attached and affectionate wishes, and continued to animate the crew by his encouraging voice, and in the act of this devoted duty he died. Truly indeed did poor Cooke act up to the inspiring signal which Nelson had thrown out to his fleet when bearing down on the enemy—'England expects every man will do his duty.'

At the close of the war the *Bellerophon*, Captain F. Maitland, was the ship on board which Bonaparte gave himself up after the battle of Waterloo had hurled him from the stupendous power to which he had raised himself.

When the war was over the *Bellerophon* was paid off after an uninterrupted course of brilliant services, and was degraded by being appropriated to the reception of convicts and her name changed to the *Retribution*, and in that state she still remains, and we may say of her as Dibdin says in one of his songs, 'The high-metalled racer is a hack on the road.'

I know that I have omitted some points in the *Bellerophon's* history ;<sup>1</sup> the last I saw of her she was

<sup>1</sup> A later *Bellerophon* has added the reduction of Acre and the bombardment of Sebastopol. The present bearer of the name is an early ironclad, now quite obsolete.

under my orders in the Baltic in several attacks we made on the gunboats of the enemy.

The Mars, of 74 guns, was also one of the 5 sail of the line under that gallant and determined character, Admiral Cornwallis. Subsequently, when commanded by Captain Alexander Hood, she took the French 74-gun ship *L'Hercule*, on which occasion Hood was mortally wounded and only lived long enough to receive the sword of his gallant antagonist.

Two days after the account of the action had reached England the following impromptu appeared in the newspaper :—

Herculean France is destined thus to bend,  
While Britain hails the god-like Mars her friend ;  
Hood hears the shouts of victory rend the skies,  
He grasps the palm and then contented dies.

The Mars was afterwards one of the conspicuous ships in the battle of Trafalgar, and there again she lost her gallant Captain, an excellent and much esteemed friend of mine, George Duff.

I may here mention a curious circumstance respecting the Mars which occurred in 1801. It happened that she and the *Centaur*, another ship of the same large dimensions, run on board each other off Ushant when blowing strong from the north-west and a great sea up. The ships reeled to and fro like drunken giants, and inflicted such tremendous blows on each other as to threaten destruction to both.

The most painful anxiety prevailed throughout the fleet, dreading the fate of 1,500 men in so perilous a position.

I bore up immediately in the *Fisgard* to render any assistance in my power ; but before I reached the ships they were separated, as I believe, by one



ship letting go an anchor and leaving the other to drift from her.

The ships were both severely damaged and obliged to go into port to be docked. The Mars lost her bowsprit and fore topmast. The cutwater was taken clean off, and with it the fine full-length figure-head of Mars, which was remarkably well carved and much admired.

The pith of the story is that, a month or more after the accident, on the very day, and I believe I may say at the very moment of our hearing of Lord Nelson's great action at Copenhagen, we discovered from the quarter-deck of the Fisgard a wreck on the weather beam, and after a tack or two we brought it alongside the ship. The figure-head, which had probably been kept under water by the bowsprit and rigging athwart it, became all at once disengaged, and at the moment of our exultation at Nelson's glorious success up bounded old Mars quite in an erect position, as if delighted to join in the joy of such good news.

Having, after much difficulty, hoisted in this enormous figure and stretched the god of war on the Fisgard's quarter-deck, I made the signal to speak the Admiral, and I shall never forget the hearty laugh of old Cornwallis when he heard my story. The Admiral desired I would proceed immediately to Plymouth that the head might be replaced while the ship was in dock for repair, and the same head remained uninjured in the battle of Trafalgar, so that I had the pleasure to welcome my old friend in the Baltic when that ship, commanded by Captain Lukin (afterwards called Windham), was placed under my command.<sup>1</sup>

The history of the Monarch is perhaps the most remarkable of any ship. She, not the name but the

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, vol. ii. pp. 54, 55, &c.

actual same ship, captured the only three Dutch Admirals we have ever taken ; not different ships bearing that name, but the self-same Monarch that was broken up after the last war.

When Captain Reynolds (afterwards Lord Ducie) commanded the Monarch, he captured the Dutch ship, the Mars, bearing an admiral's <sup>1</sup> flag, who was killed ; this occurred at the time of the capture of St. Eustatius in 1782.<sup>2</sup>

In 1796, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Sir George Elphinstone, the Monarch captured the Dutch ship of the line, the Dordrecht, carrying the flag of Rear-Admiral Lucas, together with the whole of the Dutch squadron at the Cape of Good Hope.

In 1797 this ship, with Admiral Onslow's flag flying on board of her, captured at the battle of Camperdown the Dutch line-of-battle ship Jupiter, Vice-Admiral Reyntiges, and she also joined in obliging Admiral de Winter to strike.

Captain Mosse was afterwards killed in the command of the Monarch in the battle of Copenhagen.

The flag-ships in the great battles of the war are all found under the letter V : Venerable at Camperdown ; Ville de Paris,<sup>3</sup> St. Vincent ; Vanguard, Nile ; Victory, Copenhagen.<sup>4</sup>

The French may also furnish some curious

<sup>1</sup> Admiral Kraol.

<sup>2</sup> Or rather soon after ; it having been ascertained that a Dutch merchant fleet had sailed the previous day under convoy, Captain Reynolds was sent in pursuit and all were captured, Admiral Kraol being killed in the action.

<sup>3</sup> Should be Victory.

<sup>4</sup> In error for Trafalgar. The flag ship at Copenhagen was the Elephant, of 74 guns, to which ship Nelson had transferred his flag from the St. George, of 98 guns, as being better suited for the work. The Victory was not one of the Baltic fleet.

anecdotes of their officers and ships ; but, as far as I know of them, they will be instances of bad luck.

When I commanded that noble fast-sailing ship, the *Tamar*, in the West Indies in 1797, one of her numerous captures was a remarkably large, fast-sailing privateer called the *Poisson Volant* ; she was sent into Antigua, condemned as prize, sold and sent to a neutral island, where she was bought by a company of speculators, who, knowing the good qualities of the vessel, made sure she would be a fortune to them if licensed by the Governor of Guadeloupe as a French privateer. This was effected without difficulty, and out came this terror of our trade, with a picked crew and an intrepid dashing captain, quite of the old privateer buccaneering character of the robbers who infested those seas 150 years before. This vessel, which had cruised with ruinous success against our trade, started again thus manned for her work of destruction, and within a week after leaving her port, and before she had made any capture, the evil star of the *Poisson Volant* made the *Tamar* the first British ship she fell in with ; and so beautifully did the *Tamar* sail, that after an interesting chase of some hours, and in spite of some clever manœuvres of the Frenchman, the *Poisson Volant* was brought under our guns and again became the *Tamar*'s prize.

When cruising in the Bay of Biscay in 1799 I took a remarkably fine French privateer brig of 18 guns, which had been committing sad havoc amongst our trade for some months. The captain was soon exchanged, and being high in repute as a seaman, and as a person of great spirit and enterprise, had scarcely time to shake hands with his friends before he was appointed to the command of a large privateer then ready for sea at Bordeaux.

The vessel sailed almost immediately after my



friend assumed the command of her, and within forty-eight hours he was again my prisoner. I verily thought the poor fellow would have jumped overboard in his raving when, arriving on the quarter-deck, he saw me standing before him.

I could relate other instances, both English and French, of the stream of good or ill luck which sometimes marks the career of officers and ships, but I fear it may be tiresome to the reader to multiply the proofs.

### *Lord Keppel's Acquittal.*

The first public event which made an impression on my infant mind, when at Bath, was the announcement of Admiral Keppel's acquittal by the court-martial appointed to try him on charges preferred by the second in command of his fleet—Vice-Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser.

When the decision of the court was known, an express was sent to my father, who had served under Admiral Keppel when he was Commodore and Commander-in-Chief at Jamaica in 1762 and 1763, after which a great intimacy subsisted between them, and I know my father was warmly attached to the Admiral: indeed, he was in the highest degree esteemed by every one who had the pleasure of being acquainted with him.

The honourable termination of the trial was, of course, received with special joy in my family, and created a sensation which served to fix it on my recollection; though the public approbation, marked by brilliant illuminations, perhaps made a still deeper impression.

Admiral Keppel's popularity in all classes of society, even to those opposed to him in politics, gave him a great advantage over the less accom-

plished and less engaging manners of his Vice-Admiral, Sir Hugh Palliser. But from all I have collected in conversation with old and intelligent officers, well acquainted with both, I cannot doubt that as a practical seaman Palliser stood far above his chief.

Such is the impression on my mind since years of greater maturity than I had reached at Bath brought me into the society of men who were in Keppel's action on the 27th of July, 1778. I have moreover of late years had occasion to read some papers written by Sir Hugh when he was Comptroller of the Navy, and they show, in every part, that he was a person of high professional intelligence—in short, he was a perfect master of his business.

Admiral Keppel was a violent Whig in politics, and Sir Hugh Palliser not less distinguished for inveterate Toryism. He had been several years Comptroller of the Navy, and at the time when he was second in command of the fleet, his friends being in office, he was a Lord of the Admiralty, Lieutenant-General of Marines, and the Governor of Scarborough Castle. He died Governor of Greenwich Hospital.

It was party feeling, that demon of mischief in the naval service, which throughout this discreditable affair tainted the whole profession with its baneful effects, and many succeeding years attested its continued influence.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lord Rodney speaks of it with indignation as pervading the fleet under his command in 1781–1782. He obliged one captain to quit his ship chiefly on that account, and very wise it was to get rid of a person so disposed to disseminate feelings so injurious to the service. The same reprehensible prejudices were to be traced some years after, when one might have thought a general peace would have freed the fleet from such obnoxious members of the profession; but in 1785 Commodore Leveson-Gower, the friend of Lord Keppel and his captain in the memorable battle of

I am not meaning to make any invidious distinction, and I may fairly say that, if Palliser had the advantage as a practical seaman, Lord Keppel was more known by his distinguished conduct as a captain and as a commodore, and nothing could show more forcibly how high he stood in the public esteem than the fact of his being selected for so high a command by the Government to which he was so decidedly opposed in politics. The command of the Channel Fleet is the highest honour an admiral can receive. It is a proud thing for any man to be chosen as the protector and guardian of our island, on whose vigilance, skill, and courage the national security must depend.

Two remarkable circumstances occurred in connection with this trial. One was the passing an Act of Parliament to authorise the holding the court on shore, on the ground of the Admiral's ill-health and the winter season : the court consequently assembled at the Government House at Portsmouth on the 7th of January, 1779, and continued its daily sittings (Sundays excepted) until the 11th of February,

27th of July, had his broad pennant on board the *Hebe* for the avowed purpose of giving instruction and professional example to Prince William Henry, then third lieutenant of that ship. It so happened that young Henry Bazely, the son of Palliser's captain, was on board the *Hebe* as a young midshipman, and in the course of the invitation by rotation to the Commodore's table, he was one day the guest there. The name flashing across the Commodore's recollection, he burst into a violent strain of abuse, and he had the indelicacy, the meanness, to provoke the poor boy to tears by harsh, ungenerous, and false reflections on his father's character, and this, too, in the presence of the Prince, who, to his honour, took Bazely with him when his Royal Highness was made a captain. I can venture to say from my own recollection and knowledge that Admiral Bazely, the father, was a highly respectable person and a thorough seaman. I have a very different impression on my mind as to Admiral Leveson-Gower ; he was a presumptuous, overbearing man. Highly connected with the aristocracy, he assumed an importance—[sentence unfinished].—T. B. M.



when the charge was declared to be malicious and ill-founded.

The other circumstance to which I allude was this : when the names of the officers to make the thirteen required as the maximum number to compose a court-martial were called over, those were excepted who had been summoned as witnesses, being of course, according to custom and to common sense, incompetent to take their places as judges.

This however was questioned by the Honourable Boyle Walsingham,<sup>1</sup> one of the thirteen senior captains, who insisted on his right to take his seat, although it had been previously notified to him that he was to be brought forward as a witness.

The Act of Parliament undoubtedly makes no exception ; it says ' That from and after the 25th of December, 1749, no court-martial to be held or appointed by virtue of this present Act shall consist of more than thirteen, or of less than five persons, to be composed of such flag-officers, captains, or commanders then and there present, as are next in seniority to the officer who presides at the court-martial.'

The framers of the Act never contemplated anything so inconsistent as a witness performing the duties of a judge, and therefore left the point to the previously long prevailing and undisputed practice of the service. The prosecutor might, with equal propriety, if falling within the thirteen senior captains, claim to sit as a member of the court-martial assembled to try the person he has accused.

This question was referred to the law officers of the Crown, who decided that ' Officers to whom there is a just ground of exception ought not to be

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards commodore in the West Indies, with his broad pennant in the 74-gun ship *Thunderer*, which was lost with all on board, in the great hurricane of October 1780.

included in the number of those of whom the court is to be composed, and consequently if any officer entitled by his rank to sit, is either prosecutor, party or witness, the officer next in seniority must supply his place, and that the court so composed will be legal according to the intent of the Act.' In conformity with this decision the court was composed.<sup>1</sup>

The dilatory and confused operations and the very unsatisfactory and indecisive result of the action on the 27th and 28th of July are mainly attributed to the meagre code of signals then in use, so that the operations were conducted, or attempted to be conducted, by verbal messages sent to the commanders of divisions by the frigates; it therefore often happened that, before the message reached the divisional Admirals, the movement required by the message, from change of circumstances, became inexpedient, and then another message was to be sent in the same way to contradict the first.

The general feeling of the service, as well as of the public, was evidently against Sir Hugh, who was thought to be much influenced in his conduct by party spirit, aggravated, no doubt, by the strong imputations and reflections injurious to his character as an officer, by the press.

Altogether it was a bad affair from beginning to end, and the recriminatory charge brought by

<sup>1</sup> B. Martin wrote from the common-sense point of view of his own day; but previous to the legal decision which he quotes, the practice of the service was not as he has stated it. On the contrary, it was not and never had been unusual for even the prosecutor to sit as a member of the court. Very many instances of this might be brought forward: one will be sufficient. On 11th August, 1744, Captain Herbert, of the *Woolwich*, was tried at Antigua, on a charge of breach of orders, insolence, and disrespect, preferred by Commodore Knowles, who ordered the court-martial and sat as president of it. Herbert was reprimanded and mulcted twelve months' pay.—*Note by Professor Laughton.*

Admiral Keppel against Sir Hugh made the matter no better.

The court-martial which tried Sir Hugh reproved him for not informing the Commander-in-Chief of the damage received by his flag-ship in the action ; but otherwise pronounced an honourable acquittal.<sup>1</sup>

These trials led the French to boast, and not without reason, that, if the English admirals could have so much blame to heap upon each other, the battle must have been in their favour, and so the French king had considered it on the Count D'Orvilliers' official despatch reaching Paris. His Majesty in an autograph letter expressed his 'high approbation of the Count's prudent conduct and excellent manœuvres'—words sufficiently ambiguous to justify either of two opposite conclusions.

When Sir Hugh Palliser preferred charges against the Commander-in-Chief after the lapse of so many months, twelve admirals (Lord Hawke at the head of them) presented an address to the King expressing in terms of the strongest reprobation the injury done to the service by such conduct on the part of a junior admiral so long after the action. This representation was presented to the King by Admiral the Duke of Bolton,<sup>2</sup> commonly called

<sup>1</sup> B. Martin's information as to this lamentable affair was inaccurate. Keppel did not bring 'a recriminatory charge' against Palliser. He was called on to do so, but refused, and Palliser, who himself demanded a court-martial, was tried without any prosecutor. Neither did the court pronounce 'an honourable acquittal ;' it was simply an acquittal, after a dispute so violent that the quarter-deck was cleared in order that the bystanders might not hear the noise. And this though the court was packed by every means that the Admiralty could devise, and included Palliser's nephew and heir-at-law, Captain Walters, of the Princess Amelia, who was away on Admiralty leave, but hurried back before his leave was up.—*Considerations on Naval Discipline*, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> He came in from sea, he said, because the ship's *stern-post* was loose.



'Old Stern-post,' who was one of the twelve who signed it.

We know that party spirit doth often grievously pervert the better feelings of our nature ; and when officers are prominent as partisans, it is best to avoid harnessing them together in their professional duties. It may, however, be difficult in so limited a choice to find an officer of sufficiently high standing for the command of the Channel Fleet, whose previous services entitle him to the confidence of the Government and of the country ; and this it was that forced the Ministers in 1778 to select Admiral Keppel from the ranks of their political adversaries.<sup>1</sup>

Such a command has always been given to an admiral with his flag at the main, and this is so far convenient that the divisional vice- and rear-admirals more readily have their places in the line in large fleets.

Sir Hugh Palliser was only a vice-admiral of the blue, and according to the custom of the service ineligible to command the Channel Fleet ; but public duty and common sense ought to overrule this sort of professional etiquette, and a command of such immense importance ought to be given to the officer the most renowned by previous exploits, and pre-eminently conspicuous as regards the energy and sagacity of his character.

According to my doctrine it was highly injudicious to place an incompetent senior admiral over Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson, or any admiral over the head of such a man when the fleet went to Copenhagen

<sup>1</sup> Keppel had been offered the command of the fleet sent to North America at the outbreak of hostilities with our revolted colonies. Disapproving of the war he refused it, and it was given to Howe. When France declared war (1778) he accepted the command of the Channel Fleet. He was also the people's choice.

in 1801. If Nelson had not been there it would have been a failure.

Some people are great sticklers for the claims of seniority on the list of officers, and no one more remarkable in this respect than Sir John Orde, who, without any other professional pretension, actually challenged Lord St. Vincent because, as Commander-in-Chief off Cadiz, he selected Rear-Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson to command a detached squadron of 9 or 10 sail of the line, in preference to Sir J. Orde, who stood nineteen above Nelson on the rear-admirals' list.<sup>1</sup>

Rear-Admiral Orde's letter of remonstrance was sent home and he was speedily recalled.<sup>2</sup>

When Lord St. Vincent returned to England, Sir J. Orde took advantage of their both being on half pay to call him out, in consequence of the slight he had received from his lordship, as he thought, by the selection of Nelson for so important a command.

On this occasion I think Lord St. Vincent showed more spirit than officer-like consideration in dealing with a question so entirely of a professional character, and having reference to their actual positions in the fleet.

It would have been more dignified and respectful to the public service had his lordship submitted Sir J. Orde's letter to the Admiralty, who, I presume, would have ordered both their flags to be re-hoisted in order to try Sir J. Orde by a court-martial; or the King, in the exercise of his royal prerogative,

<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, Lord Spencer, First Lord of the Admiralty, expressed a strong opinion in favour of Nelson having the command. Seniority has never been the naval rule in preference to competency, and it is to be devoutly hoped never may be.

<sup>2</sup> Not so; he was sent home by St. Vincent: the Admiralty disapproved of St. Vincent's action.

might with propriety have been advised to order Sir J. Orde's name to be erased from the navy.

The affair between Keppel and Palliser ought to be regarded as an admonition to the whole navy, and make us ever on our guard against the introduction of party feeling into the service. It would be well if the Board of Admiralty gave an example that might lead others to deprecate so great a mischief to the country.

If a flag-officer, when employed, is so forgetful of his duty to the public as to permit his politics to be traced in any part of his conduct, the bad feeling, like an infectious disorder, spreads throughout the fleet. Lord Keppel and Sir Hugh Palliser bore such political hostility to each other that they could not conceal their sentiments. Each had their particular friends advocating their respective chiefs; hence it was that the captains first took the infection, and split into parties, making them anything but cordial associates in promoting the good of the public service. The wardroom officers were the next to take the disease, and that unruly member, the tongue, often gave utterance to sentiments so calculated to inflame the minds of the younger classes that, for the first time in our history, midshipmen dared to become politicians, and also discussed the merits of their superiors without mercy or moderation, according to the bias of their youthful minds.

It was not likely the disease should stop there; their intemperate discussions were heard by the men, and soon divided the whole fleet into political antagonists. It often happened that when the barges were waiting on shore for the captains, the men of the different boats would strip and have political boxing matches.

The mutiny<sup>1</sup> in 1797 originated in idle un-

<sup>1</sup> It is human nature to criticise our superiors, nor was B. M. himself free from this infirmity, as will be seen in vol. i. No



guarded conversation at the wardroom table, where officers were so heedless as to canvass the conduct of their superiors. If any young officer ever reads this, let him bear it in mind.

I know full well that amidst the political frenzy in which we live it is no easy matter to control our party feelings, particularly when we see the Admiralty so forgetful of their duty to the country as to give such marked encouragement to those who espouse their principles.

All we can expect in times like the present is that a sense of public duty may so predominate when we are afloat as to overrule the angry passions which make us almost hateful to each other on shore.

In earlier times, when Lord St. Vincent was First Lord of the Admiralty, his administration suffered great discredit from the outrageous violence with which the service was conducted by his naval associates, Sir Thomas Troubridge<sup>1</sup> and Admiral Markham.<sup>2</sup> Their offensive turn (though not without strong political prejudices) was the angry and insulting temper with which they carried on the duties of the Board. Perhaps Lord St. Vincent's own opinion of his colleagues will best convey a just idea of the temper which they thought it befitting

amount of table talk would cause a mutiny—unless there were well-founded grievances of seamen, the undoubted cause of the great mutiny.

<sup>1</sup> Nelson's favourite captain; lost in the *Blenheim*, in February 1807.

<sup>2</sup> Captain John Markham, died admiral of the white in February 1827. In 1801 he was selected by Lord St. Vincent as one of his colleagues at the Admiralty, where, and in Parliament, he was of great assistance in unearthing the corruption in our naval civil service. He retired from the Admiralty with St. Vincent in May 1804, but returned to it in 1806 as a colleague of Lord Howick and afterwards of Mr. Grenville.

their high station to adopt towards the subordinate members of their profession.

His lordship had a visit one morning from an intimate and influential friend of his who called upon his lordship to remonstrate upon his violently expressed and unjust censure of an excellent officer (the relative of the visitor's) who had been reproached in terms of bitter severity for an imputed offence of which he was wholly innocent. The censure almost broke the heart of the officer; for, although condemned and punished without inquiry and without cause, he felt the difficulty of approaching a man whose governing principle in the service had ever been that of non-resistance.

Lord St. Vincent's friend remarked that such treatment made a bad impression on the public mind; upon which his lordship said: 'I sometimes in the hurry of business say sharp things, but you talk of my violence of language—why, I am a mere lamb compared to Troubridge and Markham.'

Lord St. Vincent was more in his element at the head of the fleet than at the head of the Admiralty: in the former he stood confessedly one of the best officers the service ever had, and his example in the management of officers and seamen is one well worthy of the study of those who desire to take a high position in the service. Though rigid in exacting from all a strict fulfilment of their duties and punctual in his own example, he was always, as a captain, most just and temperate in the use of the lash, and it was his happy knack to have his ship an example to all others, by means of a well-considered method—not by violence. He never needlessly cost a seaman a tear.

Although deep in politics and a deadly Whig, he had the good sense and propriety to keep his opinions under control when afloat. When speaking of his

friend Lord Keppel's trial, he remarked that 'politics and disputes ran so high, and so divided the navy as very greatly to injure the public service.' This is precisely the opinion entertained by Lord Rodney, who wrote from the West Indies in reprobation of that party spirit which so divided the service.

I have said more than I intended in connection with Admiral Keppel's trial; but it is a very remarkable circumstance in our naval history, as well from the indecisive issue of the battle of the 27th of July as the proceedings attending the trial; but most of all it is worthy of professional recollection on account of the warning it affords of the danger of allowing politics and party spirit to destroy the unanimity of feeling which is so necessary to the well-doing of the service and the interest of the country.

Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Ekins in his 'Naval Battles,' a book of much pretension but very defective, and in some cases erroneous in tactical argument, has the bad taste to give vent to his venomous party feeling and prejudice by the following absurd assertion:—

'The Tory Government (then in office) ordered Admiral Keppel (a staunch Whig) not to take any ship of the enemy, for it was known that the Tories would rather suffer the British fleet to perish at sea than let a laurel of victory crown the brow of a Whig admiral!' Fie, fie, Sir Charles!

It is scarcely to be believed that an officer writing on such a subject could dare to make an assertion which carries with it its own contradiction; for Tories, whatever may be their faults, are not such fools as to furnish a political adversary with grounds for bringing their heads to the block. Poor Ekins was always a vain weak man and disgustingly vehement in his politics.



*Ships lost at Spithead.*

It is remarkable that the only four ships ever lost at Spithead had admirals' flags flying. The *Mary Rose*, one of the largest ships at the time of Henry VIIIth, bearing the flag of Sir George Carew, on her passage from Portsmouth harbour to Spithead (the French being then off St. Helen's), was, as it is described in Burchett, 'by a little sway of the ship (her ports being within 16 inches of the water) upset and lost with her whole company.'

The *Edgar*, blown up in the year 1707, arrived the day before with the flag of Rear-Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker from Halifax.

1782 : the *Royal George* I have already stated had the flag of Rear-Admiral Kempenfelt.

In 1795 the *Boyne*, of 98 guns, Captain the Honble. George Grey, had the flag of Admiral Peyton, who was then at Portsmouth as a member of the court-martial assembled for the trial of Captain Molloy of the *Cæsar*, for misconduct in the battle of the 1st of June 1794.

Admiral Peyton was himself captain of the *Prince George*, of 98 guns, the flag-ship of Admiral Brodrick, when she was burnt at sea and most of the crew perished, the 13th of April 1758.

An extraordinary circumstance attended the blowing up of the *Edgar*. The first lieutenant, then the commanding officer on board (Jack O'Brien by name), showed an admirable example in his efforts to subdue the fire, and did so with such persevering zeal that his safety at the last was truly miraculous. When he saw that the gallant exertions of the officers and crew were completely mocked by the wide-spreading flames, and that their remaining longer on board was utterly useless, he

directed them to escape as best they could, he himself being determined to be the last man to quit his post, and is described as having shown a most heroic composure while assisting those the most helpless of the crew to get away.

It seems the devouring element had approached nearer the magazine than was supposed, as the fire seemed to take a different direction, and the first intimation he had of this mistake, in his imagined temporary security, was the finding himself in the sky at a height unknown to any except some more recent aeronaut, of whose sky-scraping adventures we occasionally hear such marvellous stories.

In process of time O'Brien returned from the skies to his native element, and was taken out of the water by a boat belonging to the flag-ship at Spit-head, nothing the worse for his aerial trip.

He was an oddity, and a character in the service, so that all his doings were somewhat out of the ordinary course of man's life. When he reached the quarter-deck he found the admiral pacing up and down in awful amazement at the scene he had just witnessed, and, advancing towards him, dripping wet, but with the respectful address due to the chief of the fleet, said: 'I beg your pardon, sir, for waiting upon you without my cocked hat and sword, but I left the ship in such haste I had not time to put them on.'

O'Brien went ever afterwards by the appropriate name of 'Sky-rocket Jack.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Edgar's pay-book does not seem to have been preserved; but the only O'Brien of that date is Christopher, a captain of 1713 (*Biog. Nav.*, iv. 48). This may be the hero of the story, but Charnock knew nothing of it. A story, almost identical, is told of Lieutenant O'Brien, of the Dartmouth, which was blown up in 1748, whilst in action with the Spanish ship *Glorioso* (Laughton's *Studies in Naval History*, p. 245). The pay-book of the Dartmouth names a midshipman, John O'Brien, but as he was never

*Reasons for not recalling Collingwood.*

It may here be proper and but justice to say that the Duke of Clarence was very anxious to serve as Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean when Lord Collingwood's health was so broken down as to compel him to ask relief from so anxious and arduous a charge. The Duke then pressed the point with such earnest importunity that the Minister and the First Lord of the Admiralty were put to their shifts to know how to ward off an application from a Royal personage whose rank of flag gave him as it were a professional claim. The total unfitness of the Duke for a command of any importance was of itself a decided objection, but to place him in a position where delicate points of diplomacy frequently occurred, would have been embarrassing to the Government and hazardous to the public interest in the greatest degree. It was therefore determined that Lord Mulgrave, the First Lord of the Admiralty, should write to Lord Collingwood and state that the public interest rendered it of the highest importance that a person of his experience and distinguished services should continue for some time longer to conduct the duties he had hitherto managed with so much skill and benefit to his country. Old Cuddy, as we always called Lord Collingwood, who had worked all his life with greater diligence for professional applause than any other man, was tickled with the compliment, and this, acting on his devotion to the service, procured his assent when it was obvious to all around him that

promoted and nothing more is known about him, the probability is that he was killed in the explosion. It is quite impossible to say whether the story is true of either the Edgar or the Dartmouth ; that it is true of both is in the highest degree improbable.—*Note by Professor Laughton.*



his broken health rendered him quite unfit to retain so great a command. He replied that if the good of the service required that he should remain, he was content to wait and die at his post, for he felt that his days were numbered; and this proved too true; he died a few months after. These are facts which I know on the best authority.

*Extraordinary case of General Sir W. Pitt.*

A very extraordinary instance of the prosperity and distinction which marked the career of another seceder from our service. It was stated to me some years ago by Mr. Maxwell, the Secretary to Admiral Sir Peter Parker, whose authority he had for the fact I am about to relate:

When Sir Peter was Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth, General the Right Honble. Sir William Augustus Pitt, K.B., resided there as the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the district. The Admiral and the General as boys started together in the navy, and embarked on board the *Burford*, Admiral Vernon's flag-ship, and in her proceeded to the attack on Porto Bello in 1739, which being speedily taken from the Spaniards the fleet returned to England.<sup>1</sup> It was then that young Pitt determined to leave the navy, and effected his purpose with so little ceremony that, as the saying is, he took French leave, or, in other words, ran away from his ship; and for this heinous offence he had the (R) placed against his name on the ship's

<sup>1</sup> Parker's memory may have been playing him tricks, but the earlier details of the story are erroneous. Parker was born in 1721, Pitt in 1727; Parker, in 1739, had been several years in the navy. Neither of them was in the *Burford*, nor—as far as can be traced by the pay-books—in any of the ships at Porto Bello. Of the later part of the story, all that can be said with certainty is that Pitt really was Howe's brother-in-law.—*Note by Professor Laughton.*

books to mark him as a deserter, or, as we say, a run man.

It was in 1740 or 1741 that young Pitt again touched the English soil, and felt so irresistible a temptation to break away from a service for which this first cruise had given him so great a distaste, that he had no longer the ardour which is necessary to reconcile a midshipman to so rough an apprenticeship, which in those barbarous days of our service must have been most unpalatable to the son of a gentleman reared in all the comforts and tenderness of home.

If Pitt's family had gone through the form of asking for his discharge there would have been no difficulty about it ; but living in an inland part of the country they were probably ignorant of the forms of the service, or too happy perhaps at his return to make any question about his way of taking leave of the service. Pitt could have no excuse for so disgraceful a transgression of the law ; he must have known what was right to be done, or he must indeed have been the Peter Simple of the day. He turned out, however, a man of good sense, and most estimable character in public and in private life.

Soon after this adventure Pitt entered the army and rose rapidly to the highest rank and honours of his profession. In 1763 he married the sister of our great Admiral Earl Howe, an austere man, and remarkable for his rigid notions and strict observance of every rule relating to discipline and punctual compliance with the laws of the service. With such feelings it was a constant annoyance to him to view his brother-in-law in the character of a deserter, and Sir William Pitt was plagued about it with such earnest feelings that they sometimes nearly came to a quarrel when the Admiral so repeatedly urged him to wipe out the foul disgrace by writing to the

Navy Board to have the (R) removed from his name. Sir William for many years refused to take such a step. At length Lord Howe, becoming Commander-in-Chief of the Channel Fleet, and his flag flying at Spithead, intimated to the Governor that he (Lord Howe) might be accused of partiality in not apprehending the deserter Pitt, and urged him, as a matter of kindness and delicacy towards him (Lord Howe), to go through the form of asking to have the (R) removed.

At length Sir William Pitt, when a full General, Governor of Portsmouth, Commander-in-Chief of the Midland district of the Kingdom, a Knight of the Bath, and a Privy Councillor, consented to make the application, which was of course instantly complied with.

The name of Lord Howe will pass on to the most distant time in our navy as a high-minded, gallant, zealous officer, ever remarkable for an exemplary discharge of his duty. He was reserved in his manner and particularly stern in his look ; but those who shrank at his austere deportment in all official matters felt and acknowledged his sterling worth ; and though it may be truly said that his rigid brow seemed to give to every lineament of his countenance the harshness of an article of war, yet under that unfavourable physiognomy a more humane mind never did honour to our nature. His complexion was so dark that he was called amongst all classes in the service ‘Black Dick.’

### *Lord Nelson's popularity.*

After this digression I return to my observations respecting Lord Nelson, for the purpose of saying that he had a most happy way of gaining the affectionate respect of all who had the happiness



to serve under his command. I never conversed with any officer who served under Nelson without hearing the most hearty expressions of attachment, and admiration of his frank and conciliatory manner to all who showed themselves zealous in the execution of their duties. I remember an officer of great merit<sup>1</sup> in command of one of the ten sail of the line with which Nelson pursued a fleet of nearly double his force to the West Indies, wrote home, and in his letter remarked: 'We are all half-starved, and otherwise inconvenienced by being so long away from a port, but our full recompense is that we are with Nelson.'

ATTACK OF THE FLEET IN BASQUE ROADS BY  
LORD COCHRANE UNDER THE ORDERS OF  
LORD GAMBIER.

*Translation of some loose papers of a French officer embarked on board L'Océan, the French Admiral's ship, at affair of Isle d'Aix, April 1809.*

*Endorsed*—'Sent to me [B. Martin] by Admiral Bedford' [who was captain of Lord Gambier's flag-ship].

[Not dated]

My dear Sister,—It is a month since I had the pleasure of writing you two letters from this roadstead, and as yet have had no answer, though in our present situation I have much need of comfort. Our fleet seems to be cut off from the rest of the world; we are anchored near the batteries of Isle d'Aix, without being able to go there or to Rochefort, because the English fleet is anchored within the distance of two gun-shot from us. We are constantly on the *qui vive*, though we do not think

<sup>1</sup> Admiral Sir Robert Stopford, G.C.B., the captor of Acre, who commanded the Spencer, 74 guns, in this pursuit, and later on at St. Domingo under Sir John Duckworth.

the enemy means to attack us, as our anchorage is so well protected. Our advanced frigates only now and then exchange shot with those of the English ; we are all anxious for an engagement that we may go into the port of Rochefort if we are beaten, or raise this too disgraceful blockade of the English.

Admiral Willaumez, who commanded the fleet on leaving Brest, has lately been disgraced and is no longer in command. This circumstance is attributed to the fault that he committed in allowing the two<sup>1</sup> English squadrons that were blockading us to join instead of having engaged them separately, which would have done the English considerable injury, and have left us at liberty to pursue our route to Martinique, which place is said to be on the point of being attacked by a numerous force and perhaps will fall into the hands of the enemy, whereas we should not only have afforded succour to that island, but (*portant des plus grand coups*) should have given an important blow to the English colonies before they could have brought any forces near as numerous as ours to oppose us. Vice-Admiral Allemand now commands us, an officer well known for his great activity, and whose promotion has been remarkably quick.

*It appears the following papers were addressed to Monsieur L'Héritier, late captain of L'Invincible, under whose command the writer served in that ship. [Probably a note of the translator.]*

26 March 1809.

Since I had the honour of writing to you my last letter, there have been many courts in the fleet.

<sup>1</sup> Rochefort squadron of 4 line-of-battle ships under Rear-Admiral Stopford, and the same number under Commodore Beresford, which united with Stopford's squadron.

In the first place we have lost our Admiral.<sup>1</sup> It is true that he, as soon as we reached this roadstead, requested the Minister of Marine to supersede him, alleging that the crosses he had met with on reaching this port in finding a squadron (which he had been informed was ready for sailing) in bad condition and short of complement, which has been the failure of his expedition. Since that he has been incensed at the accusations of Monsieur Bergeret,<sup>2</sup> who sent to the Minister of Marine a lying report accusing him in the first place of having lost some time that was very precious in Audierne Bay, by heaving his fleet to, in order to call all the captains on board the Océan. This delay was of no consequence to our plans, because the Admiral sent forward the schooner Magpie to warn the squadron at L'Orient of our approach, also to hasten them in getting under way. Besides, had the fleet arrived two hours sooner off L'Orient, the squadron there could not have come out sooner. 2nd, he accused Admiral Willaumez of having remained forty-eight hours near [Isle] Groix instead of making sail to Rochefort immediately, and thus not affording the enemy time to establish the blockade of this roadstead. It is not true that we remained forty-eight hours near Groix; we continued there but twenty-two hours, and even had the enemy not blocked us up there, the Brest fleet must have gone alone from hence, that of Rochefort not being in a condition to keep the sea unless each of our Brest ships had spared them some men, and you know it

<sup>1</sup> Willaumez.

<sup>2</sup> Bergeret commanded the squadron at Rochefort, but was summoned to Paris to attend an inquiry into the conduct of Willaumez—superseded by the Emperor's order, or perhaps to answer for the bad state of the ships at Rochefort. Troude, *Batailles navales de la France*, iv. 14. See note on Bergeret at the end of this letter.



would have been attended with dangerous consequences to do so, as we scarcely had our crews complete, bad as they were, *et encore quels hommes?* It appears that the Minister paid little attention to this report, as he sent it to Admiral Willaumez, who sent for Monsieur Bergeret, without telling him the Minister had forwarded to him his report, but complaining only that he had written to his Excellency against him. Bergeret at first denied this, swearing on his honour he had not made any report to the Admiral's prejudice; but when Monsieur Willaumez produced it to him, Monsieur Bergeret was thunderstruck, and, finding himself ill at ease where he was, returned on board his own ship. At length he has been summoned to Paris, and without doubt will be confronted with the Admiral in the presence of the Minister. These, Commandant, are the causes of the supersession of Monsieur Willaumez by the Vice-Admiral Allemand, unless, as many suppose, the loss of his command is not rather to be attributed to the *misfortune* in not attacking the English squadron off L'Orient and Rochefort that we might have attacked them separately, for when united we were not a match for eight sail of the line English.

On the evening of the 16th Admiral Willaumez's flag was hauled down, and on the morning of the 17th Monsieur Allemand, who has just been made a Vice-Admiral, hoisted his flag. Monsieur Willaumez did not choose to see the Admiral; Monsieur Gourdon<sup>1</sup> still continues second in command in the fleet; Monsieur Bescond is no longer in the fleet; Monsieur Mapé now commands the Patriote. Monsieur Loratz

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards chief of the French Commission at Antwerp. See *ante*, page 14, &c. At this time he had his flag in the Foudroyant.

is *capitaine de frégate provisoire* ; he embarked in the Jean Bart the day she ran aground, and is now on shore at Rochefort ; the Jean Bart is going to be destroyed as they cannot get her off. Maitre Pénaisce<sup>1</sup> is returned on board ; he has spent a good deal of money in getting back to his ship, and has received but two pence a league by way of indemnification ; he begs his respects to you. All the men of the Invincible are well. I have not been at Rochefort, but I know that the 80-gun ship, the Triomphant, is ready to come out of dock and her equipment is begun. There are two three-deckers, the Jéna and the Ville de Vienne, on the stocks, but little done to them, and a frigate, Sallie, about which they are not now at work. The brig Le Pluvier, of 14 21-pr. carronades, has just come into the roads, under the Admiral's orders. I cannot give you any account respecting the engagement of our three frigates at Les Sables-d'Olonne ;<sup>2</sup> I have heard several officers belonging to those ships give different accounts of it. We are very closely blockaded ; 30 English vessels for these 6 days have been at anchor in Basque Roads, 10 of the line, 5 frigates, 6 corvettes, 2 galliots which are supposed to be bomb vessels, and 7 or 8 transports, excluding those which the signal posts observe outside of the Pertuis. It is apprehended that the enemy will attack L'Isle d'Aix. All our care is about this island ; it has a garrison of 2,000 men, and all the ships have received orders to hold their soldiers to land them if the English threaten a disembarkation, for our destruction would be one of the consequences of the capture of that island. The enemy's boats row guard night

<sup>1</sup> So spelt in MS.

<sup>2</sup> Three French frigates from L'Orient attempting to join Willaumez were driven ashore and destroyed by a squadron under Rear-Admiral Stopford.

and day at the entrance of the roadstead, and even in it; this morning at daybreak, two of their boats were seen to go out of the road, and a cutter which was running into the bottom of the bay of Rochelle to cut off some coasters which got into that port. Three days ago some boats took 3 chasse marées, notwithstanding the fire of the forts under which these vessels had taken shelter. We however make every necessary arrangement to avoid these losses. We have boats, but their sailing is very inferior to those of the enemy. We have lately changed our anchorage. We were anchored in three lines at the entrance of the passage, and too far out.

The third line could not have fired upon the enemy, and their fire-ships could easily have been brought against our first line; now we are further within, anchored in two parallel lines, each vessel 80 fathoms from her second ahead and astern, and the second line fires through the interval of the first. The front of the fleet is covered by the batteries of Isle d'Aix, and the rear by the banks of the mud, so that if the enemy should attempt an attack by main strength, he could only assail our van. We have three frigates advanced to protect the entrance of the pass, and always kept ready to weigh. The English could not come to an anchor in this attempt without much loss. Monsieur Oreille remained at Brest; he was disembarked from the *Tourville* shortly before our departure, and replaced by Monsieur Calvert, but I do not know for what reason.

10th April 1809.

I have received the letter which you did me the honour to write to me on the 31st ultimo; it must on its way have crossed that which I wrote to you some days before, in which I made you acquainted



with the particulars of all that has occurred from the time of the entrance of the fleet into the entrance of Isle d'Aix. We are in continual apprehension lest the enemy should [capture] Isle d'Aix. Its garrison, it is true, is 2,000 men strong, but they are all conscripts who have never seen any firing, and the island is strong only in that part which protects the fleet on the N.E. side, or towards the coast of the Bay of Rochelle. There are but a few guns placed at a distance from each other and in bad condition, and there can be no doubt that the enemy would make his attack on this side if he wished to disembark.

It is to be wished that a great number of troops should be sent to this island, now of so much consequence to our navy, without which it is not secure from falling into the hands of our implacable enemy. We wish that the English would make an attack upon our fleet alone ; our position, such as I described to you in my last letter, put us in a condition to give them a warm reception. We have anchoring chains ready to be lashed ; our cables are laid out to the East to hold our ships and prevent them falling on board the enemy, if in action our S.E. cables should be cut. We have also just made a boom and placed it without our advanced frigates. It is composed of small cables of the smaller kind, and is floated by large logs of wood and other materials. It is held by strong anchors and in a space of 600 fathoms ; covers all that part whenever the current comes towards our fleet.

It may be of service in stopping the fire-ships which the enemy may send against us. At night all the boats of the ships, armed, are moored at and within this boom, to protect it from the attack of the English boats, and captains of line-of-battle ships and frigates go their rounds without it to

observe the movement of the enemy. Notwithstanding these precautions they make us suffer every day ; within these 20 days they have cut out from under the forts of Rochelle and Isle d'Aix a dozen merchant vessels ; as soon as they perceive them, their armed boats are after them, and their activity and that of the frigates which are under sail to protect them leaves us no alternative but to be the [un]willing spectators of these losses.

The other day an English frigate came to the approach of the roadstead near the Boyart [shoal], on which a strong battery is proposed to be erected, and notwithstanding the fire of our three advanced frigates and that of the forts which threw a great number of shells, she sent a boat to the foundation of the fort, which overthrew all the materials placed for working at it, and carried away the tackles and the tools of the workmen. We sent our armed boats, which drove away the English, and it is probable some of their men were killed, as much blood was found among the stones. They returned the day before yesterday, but we were on the look-out for them, and chased them within gunshot of their own squadron. We had 9 large boats armed and 170 men ; theirs were seen going along shore near Aleran with a view to cut off the retreat of our boats, but the signal to recall our boats was made in good time.

The enemy's force in Basque roads is

12 ships of the line	7 sloops	31 transports
6 frigates	3 cutters	3 chasse marées armed.

It is feared the transports have troops on board.

Mr. Rolland has just obtained leave of absence in order to re-establish his health ; he cannot stir

on account of the great pain his old wound gives him; he preserves his appointment.

On the 11th of April the fleet was anchored in the roads of Isle d'Aix in two parallel lines N.E. by N. and S.W. by S.; the distance between each line was 150 brasses, and between each ship in the same line was 100 brasses. A boom<sup>1</sup> of 800 fathoms long at two cables' lengths to the N.W. entirely covered by the fleet. Our lines were composed of the following ships:—

1st or outer line.	2nd or inner line.
Le Calcutta, 2 cables' length from Isle d'Aix	L'Elbe, frigate
Cassard	Tourville
Régulus	L'Aquilon
Océan	Jemmappe
Ville de Varsovie	Patriote
Foudroyant	Tonnerre

N.B.—Brasse is but 5 feet, toise 6.

The three frigates not in the line were placed within half a cable's length from the boom; L'Hortense in the centre, L'Indienne to the left, and Le Pallas to the right. The enemy's fleet was at anchor in Basque roads, composed as above related; the line-of-battle ships, four frigates, and some brigs of ours were anchored very near Isle d'Aix, the other vessels to the S.W. of the ships of the line, and some cables' length from them.

At six in the evening 3 frigates, 4 brigs, and 3 chasse marées approached and came to anchor at a gun-shot and a half from the boom. The Admiral immediately ordered a part of our armed boats to repair to it. This order was not fully executed; the wind from the N.W. and blew very strong, the

<sup>1</sup> The existence of this boom apparently was not known to the English squadron.



sea high, and the flood, which was beginning to make [strong], allowed only a small number of the boats to reach the boom. During this time we were making our arrangements for engaging. For some days prior to this our ships had struck their top-masts.

At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past eight a great explosion took place at the centre of the boom, and one minute after two others took place in the different points of the barrier. It appeared as if the barges that occasioned them were loaded with shot, shells, and fire-rockets. The boats which were at the boom saw the English boats, who with axes cut it through, at the same time as the explosion of these three catamarans; the van of our fleet was covered with vessels on fire, which, making to the eastward under different *allures*, bore down under all sail to the centre of our squadron. L'Hortense cut her cables and made sail, and passed to windward of several fire-ships, and fired several broadsides at them. At 9 o'clock the Régulus was grappled by a large ship, then in the light of her combustion. A frigate fire-ship was directing her course towards the Océan. We veered out several fathoms of our N.W. cable, but the vessel was still nearing us; the Régulus had just cut her cable and was endeavouring to get clear of the vessel that threatened to burn her; this motion of the Régulus caused us to cut our N.W. cable. We set our mizen top-sail to assist the ship over, but as soon as we brought up to our N.E. anchor. three fire-vessels were making towards us. What was to be done? We were obliged to cut this cable also, hoist the fore top-mast stay-sail, loose the fore-sail, and steer so as to avoid Le Palles, the bank of rocks on which the Jean Bart was lost.

At 10 we grounded, and immediately after a fire-ship in the light of her combustion grappled us

athwart our stern ; for ten minutes that she remained in this situation we employed every means in our power to prevent the fire from catching our ship ; our fire engines and pumps played and wetted the poop enough to prevent its catching fire ; with spars we hove off the fire-ship, with axes we cut the chains of her grapplings lashed to the ends and middle of her yard, *les chevaux de frise*<sup>1</sup> on her sides held her firmly to ours. In this deplorable situation we thought we must have been burnt, as the flames from the fire-vessel covered all our poop. Two of our line-of-battle ships, the *Tonnerre* and *Patriote*, at this time fell on board of us ; the first broke our bowsprit and destroyed our main chains, wales, &c. Providence offered us assistance on this occasion. At the moment when the fire-ship was athwart our stern, and began to draw forward along the starboard side, the *Tonnerre* separated herself from us, and unless this had happened the fire-ship would have fallen into the angle formed by two ships and would infallibly have burnt them. The fire-ship having got so far forward as to be under our bowsprit, we held it there some time to afford the two ships above mentioned, which were ahead of us, time to get far enough away to avoid being boarded by this fire-vessel.

While this vessel was on board of us we let the cocks run in order to wet the powder, but they were *foibles* so that we could not do that ; we lost about 50 men by this circumstance, who fell into the sea and were lost : our boats saved a great number.

Some time after, having so fortunately escaped being burnt, another fire-ship was making towards our starboard quarters. We fired our broadside and

<sup>1</sup> It would seem that here, and on the next page, the translator used this term without understanding it. In neither passage have *chevaux de frise* any relation to the context.

cut away her main-mast, which occasioned her wearing, and they on that account passed by us close alongside. All the rest of the night we were surrounded by vessels on fire; our guns were constantly firing, even on English boats who towed a part of their fire-ships. The one that grappled us on the poop was towed by a boat manned with 15 or 16 men; we fired at her and obliged her to let go the tow. On this fatal night the Cassard had 5 men killed and 15 mortally wounded by a shot from one of the fire-vessels.<sup>1</sup> Thirty-three of them were reckoned. I saw 26 of them on fire at the same time, among which I made out one ship of the line, 4 frigates, several three-masted corvettes and brigs, and they were almost all large vessels. These ships had all sail set, even their royals, all their guns on board were well loaded, all their yards chained to prevent their being towed round; they threw out fire-rockets the whole length of their sides; these even fired *chevaux de frise*,<sup>2</sup> and at the end of their yards had boarding grapplings.<sup>3</sup> Some had at the extremity of their yards shells and fire-pots. In general, the whole of the fleet was very lucky on this dreadful night.

The 12th, at break of day, all the fleet except the Cassard and Foudroyant were on shore; the Océan was on the mud at 4 cables' length from the anchorage at Isle d'Aix. The Ville de Varsovie, L'Aquilon, Tonnerre, Calcutta, Régulus, and Jemmappes were on the Palles, on a hard bottom at 2 cables' length from the Océan, and almost all of them lay over considerably. Le Tourville and Patriote were at the entrance

<sup>1</sup> This portion of the account has a good deal of imagination in it as to size, number of vessels, and 'all sail set.'

<sup>2</sup> Unintelligible: apparently a blunder of the translator's.

<sup>3</sup> A sort of small anchor with several arms, but differing from an anchor in having the extremity of the arm barbed to prevent the rigging of a hostile ship slipping off if caught.



of the river, and L'Indienne at 4 cables' length to leeward of us. At 6 in the morning we carried out a stream anchor with 6 cables in order to haul the ship off; several of the ships did the same. At 11 o'clock the Foudroyant and Cassard lost the anchorage of Isle d'Aix and ran on the mud near Furas; at this time two of the enemy's line-of-battle ships, 3 frigates, and a bomb vessel and three gun brigs forced their way into the roadstead with the greatest ease. At this time the Régulus and Jemmappes succeeded in getting afloat and ran on shore again 4 cables' length further in. The enemy at last came to an anchor on the quarter of the Ville de Varsovie and L'Aquilon, at the same time exposing themselves to be raked by the Calcutta.

At noon the fire of the enemy began; it was very quick. None of the vessels cannonaded were in a position to return it, except the Calcutta; it was this vessel, however, after an hour's firing, hauled down her colours, and her crew got on shore in the boats. An hour after, the Ville de Varsovie, much cut up, hauled down her colours. This ship lost more than 100 men killed; her commander, Monsieur de Cuvillier, *capitaine de frégate*, almost all the officers and *l'état major* and a part of the crew were made prisoners. We sent several boats to save the crew of this ship, but the enemy's grape-shot prevented their getting on board of her. L'Aquilon did not strike till 4 o'clock; her loss in men was inconsiderable from the wise precaution of the brave commander, who, not being able to fire upon the enemy, made all his crew lay down. Many men of these three vessels were drowned. Le Tonnerre, which was run on shore on a hard bottom, made a good deal of water and was left at 5 o'clock. M. Clements set fire to her, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy. During the action we

fired some of our guns from the stern. The flood having borne our ship up for a short time, we ran her on shore a few cables' length further up. An English ship of the line tried to come to an anchor under our stern, but she touched and was with difficulty got off again. Had not this happened we should have been cannonaded in a pretty style.

The enemy set fire to the captured vessels, and Le Tonnerre, which we had ourselves set fire to, blew up at a small distance from the Océan. This day of the 12th was a very disastrous one: four of our ships were destroyed, many brave people lost their lives, and by the disgraceful<sup>1</sup> means the enemy made use of to destroy our lines of defence; had it not been for the boom, the greatest part of our ships and our frigates in particular would have been burnt.

This barrier stopped the catamarans and some of the fire-ships which exploded there. All the night of the 12th we were on the look-out (*sur le qui vive*); we were still afraid of the fire-ships. A considerable force was anchored within gun-shot and a half of the Océan.

The 12th, in the evening, we landed all our boys and almost all our soldiers. All the men that were afraid were also allowed to land, and we were all about 600, who remained on board determined to defend ourselves well.

<sup>1</sup> The strength of the epithet applied to a very common method of war suggests a mistranslation; but, in fact, it was the usual French way of describing this affair. Even in 1845, MM. Viaud and Fleury in their *Histoire de Rochefort* could still write of it: 'L'Angleterre, qui ne pouvait nous vaincre par les armes, avait conçu un projet infâme. La rade de l'île d'Aix fut choisie par elle pour être le théâtre d'une action qui déshonore à jamais le règne de Georges III.' Quoted by Pouget, himself a *capitaine de frégate*, in *La Vie et les Campagnes du Vice-Amiral Comte Martin*, p. 297.

The 13th.

We began working at daylight in [getting up] our third tier of water, throwing overboard our shifting ballast, and 100 casks of flour and some salt provisions. The English vessels of the line that came into the roads on the 12th went out in the night, and at daylight we saw only 6 gun-brigs, each armed with 6 guns, 32 or 24 prs. A large 3-masted bomb vessel, a cutter, and a schooner had mortars and threw shells. At 9 o'clock there were vessels came to an anchor astern of us and on our quarters.  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 9 they began a brisk fire on us. We returned it with our 6 stern-chasers; the *Régulus* also fired a few guns, but they were at too great a distance, as well as *L'Indienne*. Our well-directed fire obliged one of the brigs to move further off, and half an hour after all got under weigh and anchored out of gun-shot. Our crew were in good spirits; the firing from our stern guns was well aimed and very quick; we must have done the enemy considerable damage. During these seven hours' engagement we fired from two guns, of each of the calibre mentioned, 260 36-lb. shot, 340 24-lb. shot, and 380 of 12-lb. Two 36-pounders burst from the violence of the firing.

Our principal damages were: a shot cut our mizen mast through to the spindle, our boom cut half in two, 6 main shrouds cut through and 2 mizen shrouds, two chain plates cut away, our main top-sail yard cut through near the slings, two top-gallant yards cut to pieces. Many shot, fragments of shells and fire arrows<sup>1</sup> struck us, two poop carronades dismounted, all the stanchions and lockers of the cabin cut away, and the deck pierced by the shot. We lost an aspirant, killed near the Admiral in the

<sup>1</sup> Most probably Congreve rockets, a large number having been sent out.



beginning of the action, which determined him to send almost all the men down on the lower deck ; some there were wounded. No shell fell on board, but many of the fuses. Three shells fell on board the *Régulus*, one of which went through all her decks and burst in the hold. All night we had boats rowing guard and on the look-out, the sea was high, the wind from the N.W. blew strong, which was the reason why they did not board the enemy's gun-vessels, which it was the Admiral's intention to have done. *Le Tonnerre*, *Jemmappes*, *Patriote*, and *Foudroyant* were at work all the 13th, attempting to get into the river.

14th.

This day we were at work on board the *Océan*, carrying out an anchor and two cables to the starboard side of the entrance into the passage of the *Charente*. We were aground on soft mud on the larboard side and to leeward of it ; we brought the ship on as even a keel as possible by transporting the after guns forward. We lighted the ship by starting the second tier of water, throwing overboard the carpenters' and gunners' stores, and also a quantity of round and grape shot. Thus circumstanced, we looked forward to the tide of the 13th, which was likely to flow higher than usual from the strong winds that had been blowing for several days into the bay. The *Patriote*, *Hortense*, *Pallas*, and *Elbe* got into the river this day ; we kept a good look-out all night. As soon as the ship began to feel the flood tide we hove a great strain on the cables laid out the day before ; at low water the ship was quite dry, but in so soft a mud as to keep upright. We threw overboard all the upper-deck guns, one half of the main-deck guns, and 4 24-pounders ; lastly, we hauled out the spanker and all the after sails to bring the ship's head to

wind, which was strong from N.W. Our masts were well secured, and yet there was danger of their falling. At two o'clock, however, the ship felt her canvas and got out of her bed ; we set all the head sail, cut the cable, and the *Océan* went ahead through the mud. We forced our way through it for two cables' length and at last got into the fair way of the river, touching the whole of the way.

At half-past three we were in the Charente, off Port de Barques, where we were very safe. During the whole night we were affording assistance to the *Foudroyant*, *Cassard*, *Tourville*, *Régulus*, *L'Indienne*, all of whom remained on shore outside, and in situations liable to the enemy's attack.

16th.

At high water the *Cassard* and *Tourville* got into the river. The *Foudroyant* could not get off this tide. The *Régulus* was at work lightening ; the ship *L'Indienne*, being bilged, could not be hove from where she was grounded.

17th.

The *Foudroyant* was got into the Charente and in safety. Monsieur Proteau, commander of *L'Indienne*, finding it impossible to get her off, this day set her on fire.

18th.

They are still employed on board the *Régulus* in lightening her ; they are making a raft of empty casks to float her ; she makes much water.

19th.

We began to despair of getting off the *Régulus*, who remains in the same situation. The enemy continued in *Isle d'Aix* roads to the number of twenty sail ; they have not made any movement

whatever these three days, which is a thing not at all to be understood, for they might with ease attack the *Régulus* and cause her crew to leave her. Now we have time to repent our loss, we attribute it partly to the Port of Rochefort. On April 8, anchors, cables, and other materials necessary to make a second boom a cable's length within the first was applied for, and it was clear it would have been of the greatest service to us, for the enemy's fire-ships, after having broken the first, would have found another strong barrier in the second. The coast is covered with the remains of fire-vessels and our ships that were burnt. The greatest part of our ships threw their guns overboard.

L'Océan, Charente, 26 May, 1809.

Monsieur<sup>1</sup>, —I should have been glad to have replied sooner to the letter you did me the honour to write to me on the 30th ult., but illness has prevented me.

L'Océan and Foudroyant, which were at the entrance of the river, have been moved a league higher up, but we remained constantly aground.

Le Tourville, *Régulus*, and *Patriote* are at anchor off Rochefort, where they are going to be either repaired or disarmed. Their crews are subsisted on board the other ships. It is said that our four ships of the line, and three frigates which were in a condition to be sent to Isle d'Aix roads, are to go there in consequence of these vessels having completed the stowage of the first tier of water, have taken on board the guns of the lower deck, and now only wait for orders to go out of the river. We shall be obliged to take on board the guns of the ships at Rochefort to complete our

<sup>1</sup> Illegible.



number, but even then we shall not have enough, for our ships threw overboard almost all their guns.

We expect from Rouille, the Imperial foundry of anchors and guns, some carronades and mortars. We are all now dragging for the anchors and cables that were left in the roadstead, but the cables are destroyed, for they were all cut. We have saved from the fire-vessels a great number of English carronades, many strong mooring chains, and mooring grapnels. The chains have been of use to us in making a strong boom athwart the entrance of the river. Such is the situation of our squadron, which suffers considerably from being aground. The *Océan* particularly opens in a very sensible manner and cannot remain long as she is. Now I will give you some idea of our means of defence to enable us to hold and defend the anchorage of Isle d'Aix. Admiral Allemand wishes to fix another boom instead of that which was anchored at the time of our unfortunate affair. It will be made of strong chains ; a second boom will be placed further in than the first. These booms will be guarded by a flotilla that is now fitting out, to consist of twelve gun-boats, which are built, and will be armed with a 24-pounder long gun, and 36-lb. carronade each, and twelve pinnaces which have each a carronade.

The gun-boats and pinnaces are already out of the river ; the gun-boats are anchored at its entrance, and the pinnaces serve as convoys as far as Rochelle. Two *chasse marées* with mortars are also anchored at the entrance of the river ; these mortars are small and do not throw their shells more than 800 fathoms at most, whereas the English bomb vessels that cannonaded us threw theirs 2,700 fathoms. Besides these are some strong Dutch galliots arming as bomb vessels at Rochefort ;

some mortars of a large calibre are expected for them, for they have not been able to find some of that sort at Rochefort. With these assistances we think we can remain in the roads. In the first place the batteries of Isle d'Aix afforded us no protection when the enemy forced his passage through the road with the greatest ease. Two of our line-of-battle ships did not think they could maintain their position at their anchorage. I do not think that the flotilla can hinder vessels from forcing their way into the roads which the enemy made himself so well acquainted with during the fifteen days he was anchored there, sounding every part and going in and out of it as they would in one of their own roadsteads. We are desirous, however, to be beforehand with the enemy in some daring attempt.

His Excellency the Minister promises the most distinguished recompense to the flotilla who shall first board any of the enemy's vessels. I wish to do it, but it is first necessary to inspire our sailors with that spirit with which they were animated before this unfortunate affair, and which the greatest part are so discouraged at as no longer to possess. Every day I hear them lamenting their situation and speaking in praise of our enemy's. This is, in my opinion, the greatest injury the English have done us.

I did not think I should have to speak to you of the *Tourville* in the late affair; but since you wish to be made acquainted with it I am sorry to relate to you that this ship was deserted by her crew on the night of the 12th, after setting fire to her, which was put out by two men who were not inclined to leave their post from so slight a cause. This ship was two cables' length nearer the entrance of Charente than the *Océan*, and was entirely sheltered; the enemy could neither attack her nor

send fire-vessels against her before they had got possession of the Océan. And there was no indication on the part of the Admiral to destroy his ship.

In like manner must I speak of the Calcutta. By a little resolution and management this ship might have been saved. She was afloat and presented her broadside to the enemy; she might have got under way and withdrawn from her situation by ranging past the line-of-battle ships and frigates which were anchored and cannonading her—Ville de Varsovie and Aquilon within half gun-shot; but, alas, instead of briskly cannonading the enemy, she fired but a few shots. Monsieur Lafon, her commander, was the first to quit the ship, getting out of his cabin window. Several of the gunners of the ship wanted to fire on his boat. This vessel, thus given up by her commander, hauled down her colours, and the greatest confusion prevailed in the escape of the crew from her.

I beg of you, Commander, to excuse my writing in so free a manner respecting this captain; but I write to you in confidence. Besides, he is pointed at everywhere in the country, and songs of the most infamous kind have been made against him.

L'aspirant who was killed on board Océan was named<sup>1</sup> a most promising youth; he was son of Monsieur Morcaude.

There are 3 ships of the line, 2 frigates, and 4 brigs of the enemy in Basque roads.

*Ships Building at Rochefort.*

Jéna	.	.	.	.	100
Ville de Vienne	.	.	.	.	100
Salle	.	.	.	.	40

<sup>1</sup> So in MS. Should probably be 'considered.'



*Equipping for Sea.*

Triomphant . . .	80
Foudroyant . . .	80
Océan . . .	100
Régulus . . .	74
Patriote . . .	74
Cassard . . .	74
Tourville . . .	74
Jemmappes . . .	74

*Burnt by Lord Cochrane.*

Ville de Varsovie . . .	80
Tonnerre . . .	74
Aquilon . . .	74
Calcutta . . .	50
Indienne . . .	38

*Note on Captain Jacques Bergeret.<sup>1</sup>*

In 1795 Bergeret commanded the *Virginie*, of 40 guns, and in the successful retreat of Cornwallis from a very superior French force, distinguished himself by an attack on the *Mars*, of 74 guns. Ten months later—April 21, 1796—he was captured by Sir Edward Pellew in the *Indefatigable*, a ship of greatly superior force to the *Virginie*, after a long chase; ‘a more brave and skilful resistance is scarcely afforded by the annals of the war.’ On being told that he had struck to Sir E. Pellew he exclaimed, ‘That is the most fortunate man that ever lived—he takes everything; and now he has taken the finest frigate in France.’

‘Bergeret was for some time the honoured guest of Sir Edward and his family.’ He was allowed to go to France on parole to endeavour to effect an exchange for Sir Sidney Smith. Being unable to do so he returned to England. Two years afterwards, when Smith effected his escape, the British Government released Bergeret unconditionally.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 310 and *note*.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Exmouth*, pp. 128–9.

A few years later Bergeret, in the 32-gun frigate *Psyché*, made a splendid defence against the very superior 36-gun frigate *San Fiorenzo*, but was overpowered, and thus became again a prisoner to Pellew—then Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies. Those who witnessed the meeting on the quarter-deck of the flag-ship represented it as most affecting.

In 1804, Flinders, on his return from his discoveries in Australia, was, contrary to international law and a passport from the French Government, made a prisoner by General De Caen, the Governor of Mauritius, and held in disgraceful captivity for six years. He writes: 'Through the intercession of the excellent Captain Bergeret, of the French navy, I was removed to the house where the English officers, prisoners of war, were confined. Through my friend Bergeret I have lately obtained the greater part of my books and charts. Admiral Linois, Bergeret, and another naval captain interested themselves that I might be sent to France, but it was positively refused.'

Bergeret behaved as might have been expected from the gallant foe he proved. The Governor behaved as was to be expected from the military despot over his own countrymen—as Flinders describes him.

July 1817.

I dined with old John Rennie<sup>1</sup> in Stamford Street, and met several learned men, including the celebrated Mr. Watt,<sup>2</sup> of Birmingham, a sensible and unassuming man, very unobtrusive in his opinions, and very difficult to be drawn into conversation; but then we had Mr. Croker<sup>3</sup> of the party, and his impudent volubility and tyranny of talk is a great damper to society, and often disgusting.

<sup>1</sup> The celebrated civil engineer, knighted for building London Bridge.

<sup>2</sup> James Watt, who adapted steam to the naval service.

<sup>3</sup> The Secretary of the Admiralty.

1833.

The similarity of the present times to those of Cromwell is very striking in many particulars. The vulgarity of the Parliament, and the cant and hypocrisy with which artful and designing men put forth their appeal to the public upon points in which they have an interest or a wish in carrying.

The Jews at this time are full of earnestness to obtain a removal of all civil disabilities, and Lord Westminster, a nobleman distinguished for his bad taste in all the relations of public life, expresses his hope (on presenting a petition from the Jews) that all civil disabilities will soon be done away, and the parallel of proceeding in the time of Cromwell may be found in the King's collection in the British Museum in a pamphlet of very great rarity. The humble petition of 'Manasseh Ben Israel, a Jew, for himself and brethren, to His Highness the Lord Protector Cromwell,' setting forth the hardships the Jews suffered in England, and praying for certain privileges, and for St. Paul's Cathedral to be given up to the Jews for a synagogue.

Lord Westminster a few days back expressed in the House of Lords, in a strain of affected piety (for he has none in his nature) his wrath at the profaneness of publishing Sunday papers, in which he was cheered and supported by the Ministers, who seem to make a point of holding Sunday Cabinets and give Sunday dinners. The Bishop of London truly observed on this occasion Papists are Christians, Dissenters are Christians, but if the Jews are let into Parliament, where stands the national character for Christianity?

June 26, 1833.

Called and sat for a considerable time with that excellent man Mr. Charles Yorke, one of the most high-minded, honourable men that ever held the post



of First Lord of the Admiralty.<sup>1</sup> We had much discourse on various subjects, amongst others about the correspondence between Sir J. Graham and Admiral Neale in the Portsmouth command, which was voluntarily promised to Sir H. Neale on August 24, 9 months before it would become vacant, a thing never I believe before done, and quite unnecessary and wrong to do. But Sir H. was at the time a candidate for Lymington in this reformed Parliament and directly opposed to the Government; it was therefore manifestly a job for the instant. Sir H. accepted it without any condition. Sir J. Graham wrote to Sir Harry's opponent, Mr. Hyde Villiers, to say so.

Sir Harry ought to have dwelt on this.

Mr. Yorke deplored the tardiness of Government in taking measures to put down the treasonable proceedings of O'Connell, and observed with great force that Lord Grey had so violently and improperly opposed the suspension of Habeas Corpus in 1797 and 1798 that he was now afraid himself to originate such a measure, though the safety of Ireland and a just protection of the Protestants renders it necessary.

There never was a man more unfit for the high station of minister of this country than Lord Grey, as the great leader of (not a legitimate Opposition) but of the Jacobin Club in England in revolutionary war; in fact he has unfitted himself for such a station from having been so outrageous and savage in his long opposition to all government and all order.

Thursday, June 5th [1834].

The old Navy Club [of 1784] at the Thatched House gave the usual annual dinner to the First Lord of the Admiralty, and it was then for the first

<sup>1</sup> 1810-12.

time positively known that Sir J. Graham had actually resigned that office.<sup>1</sup> He made a flummery speech complimentary to the service, but all such forced sort of expressions are very disgusting.

On this occasion Sir J. Graham proposed the health of Sir G. Martin, whom he had just made Vice-Admiral of England, and the speech alluded so entirely to the private civilities received from Sir G. Martin in the Mediterranean without the slightest reference to any naval service to give a claim to such distinction, that everyone who heard Sir James must have felt that the only reason for giving this highest mark of professional honour was a grateful recollection of private civilities.

The ex-First Lord, Lord Melville, was present, and he and Sir James interchanged most fulsome compliments about the efficiency in which they had left the navy, both wishing that Lord Auckland, their successor in office, and all future First Lords, might do as well. I thought if I had been called upon to say a few words on the subject I might have changed the view of the question. Sir J. Graham, it will be found hereafter, has much to answer for in making such a discharge of efficient shipwrights and disgusting those that remain ; besides which the ships have been so much closed in that decay will be promoted greatly, while the yards will be found so crippled in the means of repair. The shipwrights and other superior men in the yard used to have pensions after being worn out in the service, but with one dash of the pen this was done away by Sir James, at the same moment that he was introducing a Bill to secure to himself and those high in office pensions after two years' service.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir James and three other members of the Government resigned on the Irish Church question.

<sup>2</sup> Having not long before brought in a motion proposing a reduction of all public salaries.

Wednesday, June 16, 1834.

Dined with Sir Robert Peel ; met a party of his parliamentary and political friends—no ladies. Much despondency about the state of public affairs. Mr. H. Dare told me a friend of his had that day sold 150,000*l.* out of the 3 per cents., believing the funds must soon fall many per cent. Sir Robert always shy and reserved at his table—a pity. Lord Camden told me he once dined at Sir Robert's at a small party, and he scarcely spoke to any of them.

June 17, 1834.

Sir J. Nicholl, the Judge of the Admiralty, and Judge of the Prerogative Court, dined with me this day. He stated that in his latter capacity an average of forty-two millions of money per annum had passed under his cognisance as property bequeathed by will. This includes only personal property and that within the province of Canterbury, shutting out all York, Scotland, and Ireland.

Sir Richard Vyvyan dined with me this day and spoke of a great change for the better in the public opinion respecting Church affairs, and that the dissenters of Macclesfield, Bristol, and Reading had sent strong petitions in favour of the Established Church. Sir Richard thinks this a better Parliament than that returned in 1831.

18th June, 1834.

Great Battle of Waterloo. It has been often said that the Duke of Wellington at one time intended to withdraw from the battle ; but Sir Pultney Malcolm told me he once asked the Duke the question, who replied : ' The best answer and most clear contradiction I can give is that, being with Lord Anglesey at the moment when we heard that the Prince of Orange had been carried off the



field wounded, we had at that time got into the thick of the fire, and I said to Lord Uxbridge, "It will not do for me to be killed just at this critical moment." Lord Uxbridge said, "Talking of being killed, suppose you were to fall I should succeed to the command of the army, as the Prince of Orange is gone, and in that case what would you have me do?" I said, "Remain here and you will beat them, if you attempt to retreat they will beat you."

August 1835.

Went to the King to thank him for having ordered my grandson's name to be put on the list of candidates for page. H.M. very civil; said he was assured by the Duke of Albemarle, who had charge of the list, that the boy would certainly get an appointment. Talked much of politics, for which see Lady Martin's Journal.

June 11, 1836.

Attended an investiture of the reigning Prince of Hesse-Homburg as a Knight of the Bath, a plain, sensible, soldier-like man, who served with distinction in the war. The Duke of Wellington took the occasion of his Majesty's drinking the health of the military Knights of the Bath to speak in very complimentary terms of the Prince, and the gratification it was to every soldier present to receive such a person into the order.

We had present also the reigning Duke of Brunswick, the Prince of Orange and his two sons, and the Prince of Hesse-Philipsthal. I was pleased with the young Orange princes; they appeared shy, but better so, than to see pert presuming boys; they are well grown, and by no means bad countenances. These young princes are said to have come over to spy the market at Kensington Palace.

June 17, 1836.

Went to the King's levee—told Lady M. how greatly I was struck with the King's feeble altered appearance. The following day at the Drawing Room he was too weak to stand, and had a chair. This the last time he ever appeared in public. After I had passed the King a step or two, on presenting my youngest daughter, he called me back and said, with an earnest expression of countenance, 'You and I, Sir Byam, have been acquainted more than half a century.'

June 21st, 1836.

Great dinner ; 242 members of the U. S. Club sat down to celebrate the battle of Vittoria. The Prince of Orange, who was in the battle as the Duke's aide-de-camp, was at the dinner with his two sons, the Prince of the Netherlands and Prince Alexander, to whom, indeed, the dinner may be said to have been given. The Duke of Wellington was present, and almost all the officers who had been in the battle. There were present also the reigning Prince of Hesse-Homburg, Prince of Hesse-Philpsthal, who lost a leg in the Russian service, Baron Dedel, the Dutch minister, a very pleasing, sensible man ; and General Ballagar, one of the staff of the Prince of Orange ; he was for several years in Napoleon's service, and attached to his staff ; considered a very good officer.

The feeling at this dinner was decidedly Dutch.

June 1837.

Dined at Lord W. Clinton's, where I met Major Le Marchant,<sup>1</sup> who had just returned from serving as a general in the British Legion—an

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards General Sir John Gaspard Le Marchant, Governor of Newfoundland and of Malta.

active, intelligent person. Gave us some very interesting accounts, but withal most frightful, showing the moral degradation of the Legion ; he stated it as no unfrequent occurrence that the men of the Legion sold their children to Spaniards for a few dollars. The destructive effect of the fever was such that they lost for some time at the rate of 400 [a] week, for even those who lived were crippled for life, as it was very commonly the case that the fever settled in the legs, and produced such inflammation as to make amputation necessary.

*These short pieces are mostly from scraps in  
B. Martin's writing.*

No man so powerfully gifted as O'Connell in all that is requisite for the overturning of a state, and creating confusion, combining all the hellish propensities of man in the overthrow of the institutions of the country, tearing down religion and arrogating to himself more than human power. He is a dissembler, a flatterer, a hypocrite, and a liar of immeasurable capacity. He has a smooth tongue, words at will.

Duke of Clarence going to Woolwich together one day, told me of all that had recently passed between himself, the King, and the Government about his desire to marry Miss Wykeham, and said among other things what had also taken place, when it was, as he said, foolishly proposed that he should marry the Danish Princess. 'I told them' (said he) 'it was the greatest folly to do so, knowing that I had moved (or seconded) the vote of thanks to Lord Nelson for his conduct at Copenhagen.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lord St. Vincent proposed it H.R.H. seconded it.



It is a mistake to suppose that medals commemorative of actions were never given before the late war. The Queen was so pleased with Admiral Russell's victory of the 19th of May, 1692, that she ordered medals to be struck in honour of the action, but it is not said to whom the medals were given.<sup>1</sup> She also ordered 30,000*l.* to be distributed amongst the sailors; it is therefore presumed the medals went only to the superior officers.

After old Mansfield had retired from the office of Lord Chief Justice and resided at Cam, the old Duke of Northumberland went out to visit him, and in conversation Lord M. said, 'I wonder your Grace is in town at this season when the country is so enjoyable. I wonder you can be induced to leave Alnwick.'

The Duke said he liked to be in town because he could always get the newspapers in such abundance, and they offered him great amusement.

Lord M. replied, 'The newspapers may at this time be an amusement to your Grace, but they will be the means hereafter of taking Alnwick from your family.'

George IV. and the Duke of York used to say, 'If ever William comes to the throne, he will bring about a revolution.'

Many years before the battle of Waterloo I often heard General Simcoe say that we should never subdue Bonaparte until the British troops marched into Paris, that the war would never be over until that took place, and he had no doubt it would be so.

<sup>1</sup> The medal referred to is probably that described in Mayo, *Medals and Decorations of the British Army and Navy*, i. 66, but it appears to have been merely commemorative. There is no reason to suppose that it was awarded to any of the officers of the fleet.

Colonel Baldwin, of Dover, told me that when he was brigade-major to General Morshead, when Sir James Pulteney went with the army to Ferrol [in 1800], Sir James, seeing that his proceedings needed explanation, called for his red box to get out his instructions, upon which General Maitland (afterwards Sir Thomas) took back the box, locked it and went away with it.

It was asserted that the General's instructions directed him to land the army and see if Ferrol would at once surrender, but not to make any long delay, as there was ulterior service of greater importance to be carried out.

Immediately after the army had withdrawn, I captured a Spanish sloop of war just out of Ferrol. The captain of this vessel of war was a very gentlemanlike intelligent officer, and in conversation he asked me what could induce the English general to withdraw after advancing with his fine army to within an hour's march of Ferrol. This officer added, 'I was one of three deputed by the Governor to go a distance of a mile beyond the town to meet the English General and present him with the keys of Ferrol. To the astonishment of the Spaniards, the English army turned round and marched back to their boats to re-embark, and it was suggested to our Governor to go in pursuit of them, but he said, '*No*, don't provoke them to return.'

Mr. Freshfield told me of a note written by Mr. Spring Rice<sup>1</sup> to the Admiralty to say, with reference to the Falmouth elections, in consequence of Mr. Rolfe being appointed Solicitor-General, that great care must be taken that the election at Falmouth

<sup>1</sup> Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Melbourne's Ministry, 1835; afterwards Lord Monteagle.

should not be like that at Dudley, where the Attorney-General was beat. This letter they had the folly to send in original to Captain King<sup>1</sup> at Falmouth, desiring he would take care and apply the whole of his official influence to secure Mr. Rolfe's election. It was reasonable and right enough to support the Government candidate by Government men ; but the indiscreet way of doing it is worthy of remark, particularly [by] Whig governments, always so loud in praising themselves for governing without patronage.

Mr. Freshfield said he had heard Sir John Hobhouse say in 1830 to a gentleman sitting behind him, that the violent observations he and others had just made were intended to bolster up Lord J. Russell and to urge him to extreme measures of reform, and that Lord John had said, when he and Stanley were appointed by the Ministers to draw up the Reform Bill, Stanley quite started back with horror and amazement at the magnitude of Lord John's scheme, but at length gave way.

June 17.

Dined at the Palace at St. James's as an elder brother of Trinity House. Curious mixture of parties—Lord Grey, Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, Lord Melbourne, Lord Minto, Spring Rice, looking so angry at each other.

Lord Grey and Sir J. Graham appearing more in conversation than others.

Officers commanding Sloops of War, and Commanders in Ships of the Line.

Officers of the same rank and denomination have different descriptions of employment.

<sup>1</sup> Commanding the packet service at Falmouth, from which port the sailing packets sailed.



The commander of a sloop of war holds a distinct and responsible command.

The commander in a ship of the line stands in a subordinate position, and is consequently exempt from responsibility, but his duties are more laborious.

They have the same rate of pay, and are on an equality in the distribution of prize money; it is therefore not unnatural that the commanders in ships of the line should feel themselves aggrieved when they find the equality ceases in the distribution of honorary rewards by a foreign Power.

A foreign Power in conferring complimentary distinctions would, of course, recognise those only who are known to be in actual command, being ignorant that officers of the same rank participated in the service which called forth such acknowledgments.

The objection seems to be to the paying the same compliment to the commander of a ship of the line as to his captain, but who can be offended by this? In the army, if we may stray into the sister profession for a precedent, a major receives the same medal and clasp as his colonel; both ranks, being denominated field officers, receive the same marks of distinction.

In the navy we sometimes make distinctions of very questionable fairness and propriety; for instance, our frigates at Trafalgar were highly useful, though not materially engaged, and the captains, though senior to some of the captains of the line-of-battle ships, did not receive any medal. I think it was an unjust decision.

The commanders of sloops have in war time the chance of prize money, and very frequent opportunities to obtain promotion by the capture of vessels of equal force, while the commander in a line-of-battle

ship has the monotonous duty for months, perhaps years together, of a tedious, unprofitable blockade.

The commander of a ship of the line is selected because of his known superior qualities as a seaman, and an officer ought not to be subject to anything approaching to degradation or annoyance; on the contrary, the leaning should be in his favour in any doubtful case.

We have distinctions in our service of an anomalous but (as I think) of a necessary description—for instance, officers of the same rank have a variety of rates of pay, according to the size of the ships they may respectively command. The captain of a ship of the line, though much junior in rank to the captain of a frigate, has a higher rate of pay, and for the very sufficient reason following:

1st. That he commands a much larger body of men, and has much more onerous duties to perform.

2nd. That the captain of a frigate is almost constantly so employed as to make prize money, which, speaking generally, gives him pecuniary advantages far above the captain of a line-of-battle ship.

3rd. In war time captains always seek the command of a frigate with small pay, in preference to a ship of the line with larger pay.

If, after any service in which ships of the line and sloops of war were actually engaged, I were to be called upon by a foreign Power to say who were entitled to marks of compliment, I should give the names of all the captains in command of ships and sloops, and then add the names of commanders of line-of-battle ships, observing that they stand on an equality of rank with the commanders of sloops, and were equally noticed by our own Government, both being promoted to the rank of captain.

I think foreign orders very trumpery things ;<sup>1</sup> and our own getting to be very valueless by being given now according to seniority, and I believe often a very puzzling thing to find a man of any fair pretensions to fill up a vacancy. I am of opinion that in time of peace there should be no honours conferred, except as occasional services of a war character give officers an opportunity to distinguish themselves.

[The following letters, written by Admiral Sir John Ross when in winter quarters at the bottom of Prince Regent's Inlet between 1830 and '33, and after the abandonment of the Victory and retreat on Fury Beach, were finally left there, as escape was very doubtful, and were found as here described, ten years afterwards.]

37 Charles Square, Wincolmlee,  
Hull, February 27th, 1844.

Sir,—By Captain Sir John Ross's desire I forward the inclosed, which I found on Fury Beach, Somerset House, the last season to the whale fishery. I certainly should have forwarded it before now, but I wrote a few lines to Sir John Ross acquainting him that I had the papers and to know who I was to forward them to ; and as I have been in the country these last six weeks I did not know the letter had arrived from Mr. Ross. I now embrace the opportunity of scrawling these few lines.

I remain, yours respectfully,  
FRANCIS LEE.<sup>2</sup>

Sir,—You will honour me by answering this as soon as possible, for I sail for the whale fishery on the 4th March.

<sup>1</sup> I entirely concur. Queen Elizabeth objected 'to her sheep being tarred by a foreign shepherd.'

<sup>2</sup> Captain of a whaler in the Arctic seas.



53 Wimpole Street, Feb. 28th, 1844.

Sir,—I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of yesterday, with one to my address from Sir J. Ross, commenced at 'Felix Harbour, latitude  $69^{\circ} 59' N.$ , longitude  $92^{\circ} 41' W.$ , January 1830, and finished July 8th, 1833.'

This letter you inform me you found on 'Fury Beach,' latitude  $72^{\circ} 46'$ , longitude  $92^{\circ} W.$ , while on a fishing voyage in the Arctic Seas.

The letter is in a perfect state and gives a full account of the progress of the ships engaged in a voyage of discovery under Captain Ross up to the latter date, and of the effort he was about to make for the safety of himself and crew after the loss of his ship.

The letter within is directed to 'Admiral Sir Byam Martin, or, if found at a distant period, to the Secretary of the Admiralty.'

I am glad the Greenland fishery is likely to be revived by the spirited merchants and enterprising seamen of Hull, after so great a falling-off in the number of ships, and I wish the voyage on which you are now bound may prove prosperous.

Yours,

T. B. M.

*Note by B. Martin.*

This letter was picked up on Fury Beach ten years after it was written. It was left by Sir John Ross at the chance of its ever reaching me, and in order that his fate might be known in case he should perish in his last effort for the safety of himself and his shipwrecked crew.

In 1829 Sir John Ross left England in a small vessel fitted out by the munificence of Mr. Booth, an eminent gin distiller and who was deservedly made a baronet on the

return of the expedition in 1834. Important discoveries were made in Boothialand and Boothia Sound, at the bottom of Prince Regent's Inlet, the most important being the discovery of the North Magnetic Pole in latitude  $70^{\circ} 5'$ , longitude  $96^{\circ} 47' W.$ , by his second in command, Commander (afterwards Sir James) Ross, who fixed approximately the position of the South Magnetic Pole in the celebrated Antarctic expedition which he commanded from 1839 to 1843. This voyage of Sir John Ross was a memorable one, as shown by the brief description in the letter. Sir John Ross commenced his Arctic career in 1818 and finished it in 1851, when he commanded a small vessel, the *Felix*, named after Sir Felix Booth, the liberal patron of his former voyage in 1829-30. He was the only admiral who ever wintered in the Arctic regions, being then 74 years of age. He had seen much war service, a good deal of it under Sir B. Martin, and had been wounded thirteen times.

Victory, Discovery Ship, Felix Harbour, latitude  $69^{\circ} 59' N.$ ,  
longitude  $92^{\circ} 41' W.$ , 1st January, 1830.

My dear Sir Byam,—My letter from Holsteinburg would acquaint you with our proceedings up to the 26th July last, the day on which we left that hospitable place with a fair wind which carried us into  $73^{\circ} N.$ , and, strange to tell, without having seen field ice! We reached<sup>1</sup> Cape Byam Martin on the 5th of August, when it was reported that a whaler was in sight, but by the time my letters were written it turned out to be an iceberg, and we have not had an opportunity of sending home any additional accounts. We had afterwards southerly winds, which prevented our landing at Possession Bay<sup>2</sup> for a verification of our chronometers, and had consequently a narrow escape at Admiralty Inlet,<sup>3</sup> where we tried in thick weather to make the land. On

<sup>1</sup> N.E. extreme of Byam Martin Land, at the south entrance of Lancaster Sound.

<sup>2</sup> South entrance of Lancaster Sound.

<sup>3</sup> South side of Lancaster Sound.

the 11th we reached the continuation of Lancaster Sound, called Barrow Strait, and there we first saw the ice; but it was not so closely packed as to prevent our sailing through it; and having reached the west shore of Prince Regent's Inlet<sup>1</sup> we ran up as far as Batty Bay and hove to under storm-sails in a heavy N.E. gale. We there saw no ice, but in the night we fell in with the pack,<sup>2</sup> just in time to wear clear of it. On the 12th the gale carried us past Fury Point, where we stood for shelter into what Parry named 'Creswell Bay;' and you may imagine what was our surprise when, after standing (to the westward) 6 miles further than he had placed the land—a 'long low beach *distinctly seen*'—for 3 days from the Hecla,<sup>3</sup> and before from a hill to the southward of Fury Point, and we could see no land to the westward from the masthead on a very clear day! On the contrary, there was every appearance of a passage in that direction: at least there could be no land within 30 miles. This our first discovery was hailed by some of my followers as a victory over Parry, but by me it was received with far different feelings, and I am sure that those who have suffered as I have from a cruelly misled public opinion would never wish to transfer such misery to a fellow-creature if their hearts were in the right place. I could not help observing to my nephew<sup>4</sup> that 'I would much rather have found a passage anywhere else,' in which I was joined by him, adding that he himself was at the masthead of the Hecla and that they must all have been deceived by the ice. In the evening it fell calm, and as it was necessary that we should touch at Fury Beach to replenish our fuel,

<sup>1</sup> Running south from Lancaster Sound.

<sup>2</sup> The name for field ice of considerable extent.

<sup>3</sup> Captain Parry's ship; James Ross was one of her lieutenants.

<sup>4</sup> The late Sir James Ross, the celebrated Antarctic explorer.



most of which had been expended, I am sorry to say with little effect, by the help of the engine, however, we closed the northern shore of this inlet, and late on the 13th reached the spot where the *Fury*<sup>1</sup> was left. We found the stores, boats, provisions, &c., all in excellent order, but no vestige of the wreck, which had probably been carried off by the ice into deep water. The 14th was calm, and we had a good opportunity of supplying our wants; but at night, just as we had finished, it came on to blow from the N.W., which obliged us to stand to sea, the wind being unfavourable for Creswell Inlet, but fair for Cape Garry, which bore S.W., and in which direction the sky had the most favourable appearance. We determined to try first in that direction, and on the morning of the 15th we passed that Cape, when our new discoveries began. The land from Cape Garry was found trending S.W. by W., and it was low and of limestone formation; but for seven or eight miles from the sea there was a chain of mountains to the westward. We kept the shore close on board. We had generally 14 fathoms, and after running 40 miles we came to the entrance of a considerable inlet, and at the same time to the edge of the main ice, which we now saw extending from the South Cape of the inlet to the southward and eastward as far as the eye could reach. Here we found a very snug harbour, in which we anchored, landed, and took possession in due form of the newly discovered land. The inlet<sup>2</sup> was full of ice, but from the top of a hill we could see that there was no chance of a passage in that direction. It appeared to be the

<sup>1</sup> *Fury* Beach, where that ship was wrecked.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards discovered to be a strait leading to Franklin Sound, named after Lieutenant Bellot, of the French Navy. McClintock in the *Fox*, 1858-9, wintered in it, and from it the fate of Franklin was discovered by his travelling parties.

firth of two great rivers, and across its entrance was a reef of rocks, on which the heavy ice grounded. We remained here two days, during which time we found graves and the remains of the habitations of Esquimaux, but of a very ancient date. On the 17th (August) there appeared to be a chance of our getting to the southward, and after determining this place (*i.e.* the N. side of the inlet) to be in  $71^{\circ} 59'$  N. and  $94^{\circ}$  West, we sailed, but were unable to get hold of the shore to the southward of the inlet in consequence of the shallow water, having only 11 feet at high water several miles from the shore, which now took a direction to the eastward of south. We were therefore obliged to try our fortune among the ice, and after sailing through it 15 miles to the S.E. we were beset 10 miles from the land; but we could now see where the limestone formation ended and the high granite land joined the sea. 20 miles to the S.E. there appeared a cape with an island off it, which we hoped was the easternmost point of the land. For 14 days we were carried to and fro by the ice, winds, tides, and currents, often exposed to heavy pressure; at length a southerly wind opened the ice, and we gained the beginning of the high land in  $70^{\circ} 47'$  N. and  $92^{\circ} 30'$  W. We again landed, and from the top of a high hill saw that the coast to the southward was surrounded by rocky islands, between which the tides ran with great rapidity. We found here a great many remains of Esquimaux huts of rather a more recent date than the former. We found plenty of hares and grouse and saw the footmarks of reindeer; we also caught some small trout in a lake. On September 5th there again appeared a chance of getting on, but before we had made 10 miles the ice closed in upon us and we were again beset, but fortunately outside of the rocky islands. After drifting up and down with

the tide four days we reached a very spacious and excellent harbour, in which the whole navy of England could ride with safety, in lat.  $70^{\circ} 30' N.$ , long.  $92^{\circ} 28'$ . The ice being close to the south we put into this harbour and could walk to the cape before mentioned, from whence we saw another cape bearing S.  $20' E.$ , which we hoped would be the east point of the coast. Between the two capes, which were  $20'$  distant, there was a large bay, in which were many good harbours, and open water within a chain of islands. At this harbour we killed a reindeer of enormous size, and many white hares and grouse. On the 9th we left the harbour in hopes of being able to push through the ice and gain the open water in the bay, but the tide turning against us obliged us to take shelter between two islands, which we soon found to be a very insecure position ; and next tide, in trying to gain the channel, we were unfortunately caught by the ice, which carried the ship backwards and forwards among the rocks in a helpless state, suffering great pressure from the ice and expecting every moment to be dashed against the rocks. Fortunately the ice which beset us drew more water than the *Victory*, and just as we expected to be wrecked on a projecting point of the island the heavy ice which was pressing the vessel outside grounded, and, by stopping all the rest, suddenly opened a lane of water, by which we gained the middle of the channel ; but now we were nearly carried into the vortex of a whirlpool, but which we escaped by getting a strong hawser fast to a huge iceberg which was in the fair tide, and which at length dragged our vessel through all. Having now gained the water in the bay, we made for one of the harbours, which we named Eclipse Harbour, after an eclipse of the moon which took place that evening ; and next morning we tried to force our



way to the cape, but were stopped by the ice at an island half way. On the following day we made another attempt, but, being unable to double the cape, we put into a little bay to the northward of it on September 14th. We had now very hard gales with snow, which soon covered the land and warned us that we had but a short time to navigate, for we were now surrounded by ice. On the 24th it became moderate ; we cut our way out, and the storms having packed the heavy ice to the southward, we rounded the cape and saw another bearing south a little easterly, with several islands off it, the outermost of which we reached, and made fast to an iceberg aground on it, having gained 14 miles. In the morning we saw that the ice would let us no further ; we therefore pushed in shore in hopes of finding a more secure harbour among the islands ; but these proved to be only rocks on a dangerous reef, over which the tide ran with great rapidity, and it was with much difficulty and labour we extricated our vessel by carrying her over a part of the reef, where it was touch and go, there being only  $7\frac{1}{2}$  feet of water, which was exactly what the Victory drew, and, the channel between two icebergs which were aground on it not being wide enough, we had to cut them away on each side to let the vessel pass. We soon gained a magnificent channel between all the islands and the main, but the south end of it was full of ice, and we put into an excellent harbour about the middle, just in time to escape a dreadful gale of wind. From the highest of the islands forming the harbour we had now a more cheering prospect. We appeared undoubtedly to have reached the easternmost point of the land, which, being a position of importance, I named after you, the islands after different branches of your family, and the harbour, ' Best Harbour,' after the Lord

Chief Justice, to whom your family is connected. On the 30th we sailed from Best Harbour, the land ever trending S.W., and just when our hopes were raised to the highest pitch we came to the main ice, which had been packed into a solid mass by the late storms, extending from the land to the southward and eastward as far as the eye could reach. At the extreme point we found an excellent harbour, which I named Felix Harbour, after my patriotic friend Mr. Booth,<sup>1</sup> into which we entered, and were almost immediately frozen in. From a hill 500 feet high we now saw three islands bearing east at a great distance. Being in the latitude of Hecla and Fury Straits, I named two of them Hecla and Fury Islands, and the third Isabella Louisa or Lady Parry's Island as an acknowledgment of Sir Edward's friendship to my nephew. Our prospects, however, to the southward and westward were rather doubtful, as we could see the land about 40 miles distant from S.W. to S.E., trending east and west, which, being in  $69^{\circ}.20'$ , is no doubt the continent of America,<sup>2</sup> and this (the north) land extending 20 miles further south, it follows that the passage (if there is any) cannot be more than 20 miles wide; but this we shall determine by sledges in the spring. I have now only to add that we all enjoy good health excepting one man who, unknown to me, had a consumptive complaint before leaving England, and now he cannot hold out long. Neither vessel has received any damage, although our smallest one, which we call the Krusenstern,<sup>2</sup> has often been pressed quite on top of the ice. The Victory is

<sup>1</sup> Felix Harbour is in North America, but Ross did not then know it.

<sup>2</sup> The distinguished Russian navigator. Served in the British Navy, 1793-9; commanded a Russian expedition round the world, 1803-6.

extremely well calculated for this service, as she draws but little water, and had the engine not failed all would have been well ; its failure was, indeed, not because the principle of its construction was bad, but entirely because the materials of which the boilers were made were of the most inferior quality. We have been obliged to trust entirely to our sails since August 21st, and considering the disadvantages under which we have laboured by converting her into a sailing vessel we have to our own astonishment succeeded in penetrating 200 miles further than any former expedition. We are now snugly housed in. Our observations on the magnet already prove that we are not more than 60 miles from the magnetic pole, which we hope to reach in the spring. Those on the diurnal variation are most extraordinary and interesting. Commander Ross has already made an excellent collection of specimens of natural history, and I have taken sketches of all the remarkable places we have seen. We have had no reindeer and only one bear, but many hares and partridges. I thought of you on Christmas day and hope you did not wait dinner. I trust that by next Christmas we shall have better news to fill this sheet. We have drunk your health with compliments of the season *62 degrees* below the freezing point ! Adieu.

Victory, Discovery Ship, Sheriff's Harbour,  
4 miles north of Felix Harbour, 1 Jan. 1831.

When I laid down my pen last January I was in hopes of sending this letter either across Asia or America, but I am now sorry to tell you that these, with our expectations of a passage in this direction, have vanished. On January 9, 1830, we had the good fortune to establish a friendly intercourse with a most interesting consociation of natives, 100 in



number, who had never had any communication with civilised nations. From them, as we began to understand their language, we gradually learnt that about 3 days' journey (about 45 miles) S.W. there were 2 seas, one to the east and another to the west, but separated either by a narrow strait or neck of land. The verification of this important information, on which either way depended all our future motions, was undertaken by my nephew, who, with leading mate Abernethy, and guided by two of the natives, proceeded to the place early in April, and found, at the distance of 40 to 50 miles southward from the ship, that the eastern was separated from the western sea by two ridges of high land, 15 miles broad ; but, taking into account a chain of lakes which occupied the valleys, the actual space of dry land between the two seas is only 5 miles. This extraordinary isthmus was subsequently visited by myself when Commander Ross proceeded to survey the coast of America south of the isthmus leading to the westward, and he succeeded in tracing it nearly to the 100th degree of west longitude, being then only 150 miles from Cape Turnagain of Franklin, towards which the coast, after carrying him into the 70th degree of N. lat.,<sup>1</sup> directly trended. The remainder of this season was employed in surveying the coast of America southward of the isthmus and leading to the eastward, which was done, until no doubt was left that it joined to Occullee and the land north of Repulse Bay, as the natives had previously informed us. The Esquimaux of that district being the only human beings our friends had ever communicated with, they were consequently in a state of nature, without the least idea of a Supreme Being or a future state. Our friendship was very soon firmly

<sup>1</sup> At Cape Felix, King William Land, since discovered to be an island.

established, principally by our having made, for a man who had lost his leg, a wooden one, which he could use in two or three days with great dexterity. During winter they daily visited us, bringing skins, &c., to barter for wood and iron, of which they were totally destitute; and in June, before they left us, we had from them a large supply of salmon, with which the rivers and lakes abound. The summer of 1830 was remarkably fine, but, like that of 1818, very unfavourable for navigation; but as the winter had not been more than commonly severe we trusted that the ice would break up so as to allow us to retrace our steps; but until August there was not the least disruption of the ice, and after that we had two months' continual northerly winds, which were just strong enough to fill up the space where the ice had dissolved with heavier masses from the northward, and our utmost exertions did not succeed in extricating our vessel more than 4 miles. The winter having set in with uncommon violence, it was not until the middle of November that we finished cutting into this wretched place, in which there is only 8 feet at low water, and which we have not unaptly named Sheriff's Harbour, being an uncomfortable place of security. In the spring we expect to communicate with our friends the natives, who return to the isthmus which they call Neitchilly to intercept the reindeer, which they manage by driving them into the lakes and there attacking them in canoes. We are now at the mouth of a large inlet which I examined last year, and found the great salmon river 20 miles west. The man before mentioned as consumptive died last January, and one of the mates has lost part of his foot by being frost-bitten; but the rest are all well. Our plan is to examine every creek and inlet as we return north, and then try Creswell Inlet, having provisions until June 1832.

When and how you will get this letter God only knows, but we hope either to be with you next Christmas or much farther away.

Victory Harbour, Lat.  $70^{\circ} 11'$ , Long.  $92^{\circ} 12'$  West.

1 January 1832.

I resume my narrative, I am grieved to say, in continuation of my tale of untoward events! The last winter not only set in, but continued with a degree of severity beyond what has hitherto been recorded. In January last the thermometer fell to  $60^{\circ}$  below zero, or  $92^{\circ}$  below the freezing point of Fahrenheit, and the temperature of the summer and winter was  $10^{\circ}$  lower than the former year. I forgot to mention that we named our new discovered country generally Boothia—after my worthy friend Mr. Felix Booth, the truly patriotic and public spirited individual who enabled me to fit out the expedition. We had communication in April with two families of the Boothians, who brought us a timely supply of salmon. During this month the east coast of the peninsula was minutely surveyed by my nephew, who fully ascertained that no passage to the westward existed to the southward of  $71^{\circ}$  north. In May and June, Commander Ross and myself and fourteen men with two sledges, accompanied by two families of Boothians, travelled from the west end of this inlet across the country by a chain of lakes one half of which discharged themselves into the eastern sea by a river which did not freeze during the winter, the other half into the western sea by a river then frozen about 30 miles N.W. of the isthmus. When I went to find my way back by the isthmus of Neitchilly, my nephew and his party, being supplied with all the provisions I could spare, continued the survey of the coast of the peninsula northward of the isthmus, west and north of the river's mouth.



The weather during this and every journey this season was extremely unfavourable; snow-storms continually succeeded each other, and the temperature often  $5^{\circ}$  or  $6^{\circ}$  below zero. Of course we all suffered severely, but succeeded in tracing 100 miles of this coast, which, by taking a N.W. direction, forming the sea between the two coasts (in which is the Magnetic Pole) into a narrow inlet, I returned in time to meet the other party with a supply of provisions 30 miles distant. In June and July we were employed taking salmon at the river, which was literally swarming with them; but our distance from it being 20 miles we were not able to get more than 3,000 to the ship. These, however, were sufficient to establish the health of the crew, and, with the exception of the man who is lame and another who is blind, we are just as effective as ever, having got over all our frost-bites, and the scurvy this year has not made its appearance, both officers and men being kept in a constant state of activity. As the autumn advanced it became very doubtful that the ice would permit us to escape ever from this wretched position. Some of the natives of Occulee, being informed by the Boothians of our situation, paid us a visit and confirmed the account that the land was continuous to the Melville peninsula.<sup>1</sup> They left us in July, and it was not until the end of August that we had any prospect of a release. On the 29th the wind blew strong from S.W., and in 24 hours cleared out the inlet so as to enable us to cross it and to reach this harbour, which is unfortunately to the southward of the eastern cape, and, the wind coming again from the northward, we were soon blocked up and frozen in for the winter, and it is now but too evident that the fate of our little vessel is decided. We have

<sup>1</sup> Where Parry wintered, 1821-2 and 1822-3.

provisions left only to last us to the 1st of June next, and, unless the season turns out much more favourable than it has been for the last three months, we have no chance of saving the vessel, nor indeed of saving our lives, but by leaving this early in the summer and proceeding to Fury Beach, where there are still the boats and provisions for two seasons. Under these trying circumstances our men have behaved with uncommon propriety, and they are in general in perfect health, and in as good spirits as can be expected.

Somerset House, Fury<sup>1</sup> Beach,  
North Somerset, 1st January, 1833.

The date and superscription of this part will be sufficient to denote that we are still in jeopardy. This year, indeed, will probably decide our fate. Although the thermometer was at no time so low, the mean temperature of 1832 was 10° lower than the mean of the former year up to the end of May, including the eight previous months. It was therefore quite out of the question our trying to save the vessels; accordingly, all our stores and provisions were landed, and what we could not take with us we concealed from the Boothians, for in moderate seasons they come this far north; but, owing no doubt to the extraordinary severity of the season, we did not see them this year. Our plan was to carry our two boats, if possible, 40 miles to the north, and there make a depot which we could retreat to should the Fury boats be destroyed or irreparable, and finally to leave the ship in May. To effect this indeed we had to go to short allowance,

<sup>1</sup> Named after the Fury, one of Parry's ships in his third voyage, 1824-5, which was wrecked there, providentially for Sir John Ross, in 1825. McClintock, in 1859, also obtained supplies from her landed stores.

which was against us. We began our operations about the middle of April, while the thermometer was still  $-32^{\circ}$ , or  $64^{\circ}$  below the freezing point, and to preserve ourselves from the cold we had, when we took rest, to burrow in the snow. We succeeded, with much labour and difficulty, in dragging them over rugged ice about 30 miles. On the 29th of May we finally left the ship moored so that she would sink in ten fathoms of water; the *Krusenstern*<sup>1</sup> was hauled on shore with her gear, and little provisions left in her in case we were obliged to return as a last resource. The ice which covered the sea was in such a broken and rugged state as to be quite impassable, which obliged us to keep close to the land, and we had sometimes to draw piece by piece everything over rocky points where the ice had been pressed up to 40 or 50 feet against the precipice. Our actual journey in a direction was 200 miles, but it was increased to 300. We were not only obliged to carry provisions to sustain us for the journey, but also fuel to melt snow, without which we could not even get water to drink; in times our load was therefore so heavy that we had generally to take it at twice, thereby doubling, the distance, and our progress was only five miles per day for the first ten. At length we arrived at the depot where we had left the boats and three weeks' provisions (at half allowance) at a harbour which I had named Elizabeth Harbour, in latitude  $70^{\circ} 33'$  N., which I have before mentioned as being spacious and excellent. We left this on June 9th, and having reached the lowland near the  $71^{\circ}$ , my nephew, with two of the best walkers, were despatched to ascertain the state of the *Fury's* boats and stores, while we in the meantime advanced with the three sledges. Our blind man, being strong

<sup>1</sup> A small decked craft of 16 tons, given by the Admiralty.



and healthy, was of some service, because we could harness him on (like a blind horse) to one of the sledges, and when the ice or ground was tolerably even he could pull well; but the lame man on his crutches could not keep up with the sledges, and had often to be carried. In this way we travelled the whole distance, and of necessity minutely examined every creek and inlet which the rough ice constantly made us do. On June 25th, when 60 miles from Fury Beach, my nephew met us with the news that the boats had been actually washed off the beach, but were providentially driven on shore a little further north, that three of them had met with little damage, and that there was abundance of provisions. This put the men in good spirits, and, having got by the light party a small supply of provisions, I determined to examine Creswell Inlet, although we could cross it a few miles up. This occupied four days. We found it to be 37 miles deep; it then contracted into a narrow creek two miles wide, which, being quite shallow across the entrance, was not worthy further examination, could my provisions have permitted me. However, I went up several miles, and judged it to be the mouth of a great river; but my nephew, who went up further than me, thought he saw its termination. At any rate, we fully determined that there could be no passage but for a canoe. I was not sorry for this, as it made our survey complete, putting it beyond a doubt that there is no passage to the southward of  $74^{\circ}$  N. latitude.<sup>1</sup> We arrived at Fury Beach on July 5th, when I immediately began to construct the house we now are in, which we finished in three days! Captain Parry having called the land after his native county, North Somerset, I named the house, in compliment to all concerned, Somerset House.

<sup>1</sup> Bellot's Strait, afterwards discovered, is in  $72^{\circ}$  N.

The walls were framed of wood, covered with the Fury's canvas, and the roof couples arranged in the usual way, and covered with her main topsail. It was of course immediately habitable, and for a summer residence very comfortable compared with what we had been used to. Our next care was to repair the boats, but it was evident we had plenty of time, for the ice was still a solid immovable mass, and there was no appearance of its disruption until near the end of the month. In May and June we had almost continually snow, which added much to our labour and fatigue in drawing the sledges, and on our arrival here all hands were completely worn out, including the officers, who with myself took equal share in the labour. We had no rain until 7th July, and during the month one 6 showers, and one day constant rain. Our men, having been at short allowance, suffered severely from eating too much, although warned of the consequence, and every step taken to prevent them; but the tin cases of the Fury's preserved meats were scattered in every direction, and to prevent them was impossible. However, the evil soon cured itself, and before the end of the month every one had recovered both health and strength and we were all ready and impatient to start by the time the ice began to move. A gale which took place on July 30th and 31st at last set the ice in shore in motion, and the wind being from the N.W. a small channel opened close to the land, by which we hoped to get to the northward, and to round the end of the pack in Prince Regent's Inlet. Accordingly we left Fury Beach in three boats, with six weeks' provisions; but this lane of water only carried us to the ill-fated spot where the Fury received her mortal wound, and on the 1st of August, exactly seven years before; and here also our boats very narrowly

escaped being crushed by the ice suddenly closing on the precipice, and here we were detained six days only six miles from Fury Beach. It was not until the 10th that we reached  $73^{\circ}$ , where we were again stopped, and, there being no appearance of relief, I took an opportunity which offered of sending to Fury Beach for more provisions, being only 18 miles distant, and received additional three weeks', which would last us to October 5th, by which time it would be decided if we were to return or not. The winds were always from the N.E. and E., consequently this shore was blocked up with heavy ice, and as snow fell almost every day the land was soon as completely covered with it as in the depth of winter, which could not fail to add to our sufferings. On the 24th a N.W. gale opened a channel for us; we got to Elwin Bay, and on the 31st to Cape Seppings,<sup>1</sup> and on September 1st to the low land at the N.W. point of Prince Regent's Inlet in latitude  $73^{\circ} 53'$ , and from the mountain called by Parry Leopold's Island, about 500 feet high, we could see the whole of Prince Regent's Inlet as far as Port Bowen,<sup>2</sup> and the continuation of Lancaster Sound, called Barrow's Strait, from Cape Warrender to Cape Russell, the intermediate sea presented one solid, unbroken sheet of ice, exactly as I had seen it in 1818, the only open water being close to the land near us within the influence of the tide. September 12th was a very clear day, and from the top of the mountain it was but too evident that we could not cross the inlet this season. Our anxiety while waiting at this extreme point can be more easily imagined than described. My nephew and his (the second) boat's crew were sanguine to the last, but the officers and men of the third boat gave

<sup>1</sup> At the entrance of Prince Regent's Inlet.

<sup>2</sup> Parry's winter quarters, 1824-5.



it up on the 12th. It was my duty to persevere as long as I could with safety ; I therefore took advantage of this difference of opinion, especially as there was some chance that the equinoctial gales would break up the ice. We therefore waited with patience, but the expected storms never came, the sea remained permanently frozen, and after several fruitless attempts to penetrate the pack with our boats we were obliged, by the severity of the season and want of provisions, to give it up on the 25th, when the most sanguine were glad to admit that nothing could be done but to return to Somerset House. We therefore proceeded southward by a narrow channel at times kept open by the tide. On the 1st of October, having with difficulty reached Batty Bay, the sea was entirely frozen and we were obliged to haul up our boats and proceed on foot with two small sledges, made of staves, on which we had to drag our provisions, tents, and the lame man, and although we had only 32 miles to go we did not get here until October 7th, having suffered severely from cold, hunger, and fatigue. We now found it a most providential circumstance that we had constructed the house (which, indeed, I did in the anticipation of this), and which, bad as it is, is far better than any we could have constructed at this season, for the day after our return a dreadful snow-storm came, with a temperature many degrees below zero, and in which none of us could have lived an hour if exposed ; and although our walls were only double canvas we were able to keep ourselves from freezing by a good fire inside. When the gale, which lasted a week, moderated, we covered the house with ropes and then with snow, the walls being seven and the roof four feet thick ; the snow, being then well saturated with water, immediately took the constituency of ice. Thus we

became for the winter, in reality, the inhabitants of an iceberg! Our habitation, I must confess, is very miserable, and our sufferings during the last three months of very low temperature have been severe, but we hope to be able to survive the winter; we have, indeed, neither beds nor blankets, but we have made mats of rope and canvas, which are better than nothing; we have plenty of flour, peas, sugar, and soups, but very little meat; we can only allow each man a pound per week, half served to him on Sunday, and half on Thursday. Of coals we have abundance, but we are badly off for clothing, particularly shoes and stockings, so that the men can take very little exercise out of doors, and within we have only room to sit. Nevertheless, we are all in good health excepting Mr. Thomas, the carpenter, who is in a very dangerous state, and I fear cannot hold out long; he will be a very serious loss. All animals have left us except foxes, of which we have taken a score, and as yet we have had one roasted for dinner every Sunday. On Christmas day we had an excellent one; we thought of you, but we had only water to drink! My fingers are very cold. You must excuse the writing, which is written close to allow me to put it into a bottle, and if ever found may be the last tidings ever you hear of

Yours gratefully,

J. Ross.

I'll add a few lines when we start.

8th July, 1833: Somerset House, Fury Beach.

As we are now about to leave this wretched place, and make another attempt to save our lives, I take up the pen not to detail our sufferings, which, indeed, have been too severe ever either to be told or published, as we could not expect anyone to believe that human beings could have existed a whole

winter under such circumstances. Suffice to say that Mr. Thomas, the carpenter, is the only one who has yet perished, but there are three of the men who, although they have outlived the winter, cannot recover from the debility to which they were reduced. The rest of us have recovered our health, but are all much reduced in strength. Our plan is to proceed to our boats at Batty Bay, 33 miles distant, where we have during the month of May carried nine weeks' provisions (at half allowance), and from thence try to cross Prince Regent's Inlet by the first opening. We have indeed no other chance, for the ice is in so rugged a state that hauling the boats, or even travelling over it, is impossible. If we succeed in this I intend to leave a bottle containing this letter &c. at Possession Bay; <sup>1</sup> we shall then run down the west coast, and if we do not find a whaler we shall try to cross in latitude 69° N., and get to the Danish settlement; and if we fail in this we must try to exist among the natives which inhabit the coast between Pond's Bay and the River Clyde. If we do not get across the inlet we must return to Somerset House, where we have still some flour and peas left, but no meat. Wherever we get to I'll add a few lines to this.

J. R.

*Remarks of B. Martin on Impressment.*

I know not whether the public records or the private office at the Admiralty afford information of the first Lord Melville's views upon the subject of impressment, but it is a fact that the question was also taken up by that able and fearless

<sup>1</sup> It was, however, as seen at p. 343, left at Fury Beach, and found ten years later.



statesman in the very height of the war, and that he, too, found it impossible to provide any other means for procuring and keeping up a supply of seamen for the fleet. The first Lord Melville was not a man to be turned aside by trifles from any object which he considered good for the public service, and he clung with great perseverance to the hope of being able to abolish impressment. No minister was ever placed at the helm of our naval affairs who did more for the advantage of the service and the immediate interests of the seamen, but his benevolent intentions towards them were left incomplete, because he found it utterly impossible to accomplish this, his great and favourite object.

If, then, such men as the first Lord Melville and Sir James Graham have failed in their efforts to establish a system better in principle and as efficient in practice as impressment, who can expect to undertake the task with any hope of success ?

Painful and disagreeable as it is, we cannot shake off the evil of which all complain ; and since a power of impressment must be endured, let us comfort ourselves with the knowledge that, while England remains blessed with its monarchical institutions, with the check of Parliament, and the press, no ministers will ever exercise the power but in cases of absolute necessity ; and so seldom does this necessity occur that few of the present generation of seamen have ever experienced its effects, it being now more than twenty years since any impressment took place.

The public may also rest assured that there is every desire to encourage voluntary enlistment, and by kind treatment to compensate for impressment when the exigencies of the State require the exercise of such a power. It is, however, no easy matter for the Admiralty, in the present improved

state of the service, to find new objects to render the navy more attractive. This has already been carried so far that, rather than be quiescent in such a matter, they recur sometimes to former measures, and perhaps stretch them beyond their original and better limits ; so, at least, it appears with reference to what was done early last year respecting the enormously increased rate of the monthly advance of wages to the crews of ships serving abroad, the practical objections to which will no doubt occur to naval officers and to all the thinking and respectable part of the seamen themselves ; but this is not the fit time nor an eligible mode of discussing this point.<sup>1</sup>

It must be constantly borne in mind that the end answered by impressment is the rapidity with which the seamen are brought together, so that by the expeditious equipment of the fleet, protection may be afforded to our colonies, our commerce, and our native shores before they can be assailed in any force, or that the enemy (as on former occasions) may be intimidated into submission without striking a blow.

It is clear that, if this power be put aside, and some other system of compulsory service substituted—ballot, or whatever it may be called—its tedious process must inevitably render it useless ; it will, under another name, retain all the bad principles of impressment without its advantages. Seamen procured by ballot, with four-fifths of them out of the kingdom, must unavoidably come in so slowly that

<sup>1</sup> On the contrary, it has been proved practically, the alteration has been of great benefit. The First Lord who introduced it—Sir J. Graham, I believe—when he was warned against the measure, answered : ‘It’s only common honesty to pay men the money due to them,’ or words to that effect. It was hard on seamen’s wives and families to be in distress when large sums were due to their husbands. Honesty has proved better policy than expediency.

the officers, pining in helpless inactivity in port, would despair of the equipment of their ships, and be dispirited by daily accounts of unresented insult upon our flag ; and those seamen that first entered would become restless and discontented, and many would desert before hands could be collected in sufficient numbers to take our ships to sea.

Under such circumstances what would be said by our colonists, merchants, manufacturers and ship owners, were their property to fall into the hands of the enemy because our own hands are to be thus tied up ? What would be said by the wives and the children of the merchant seamen captured and imprisoned for want of timely protection ? What would be said by the parishes of the kingdom having to maintain the families of the unfortunate captives ? Surely these are points of paramount importance and must overrule every other consideration.

The seamen themselves place the question of impressment upon the only fair and legitimate grounds on which such a power ought to exist. In a manly petition to the Crown in 1760 they say : ' If it can be shown to us that impressment is the only mode of manning the navy, so anxious are we for the honour of the country, so willing are we to risk our lives in its defence, that we will submit without a murmur.'

The seamen of the present day are not less devoted to their country than those of 1760 ; let it therefore be said to them : ' We accept your terms and are ready to meet you on your own ground.' Probe the question to the bottom ; look at it in every point of view ; prove that impressment is the only mode of promptly and effectively manning the fleet. Such a confession must inevitably be the result of a parliamentary discussion. I know how the truth is perverted in debates upon popular questions, and



particularly when those questions give scope to the poisoning language of a declamation ; but in spite of every advantage which the borough members of the present day may have from such language, the necessity of a power of impressment rests upon such incontrovertible facts that I am confident a full discussion of the question in the House of Commons must stifle the murmuring we hear upon the subject. But it is not the murmuring of the seamen of which we have to complain ; it is the irritating and maddening language of demagogues, whether members of Parliament or not, who, to make themselves conspicuous and to gain their own ends, go about to torture the minds of the people upon a question in which the worst passions, originating perhaps in the best feelings, are brought into play, and men not capable of reasoning on such points are deluded and made to believe that those in authority wish for a continuance of impressment in order to gratify a love of power. What an absurdity is this ! Where is the man, and above all where is the naval officer, who would not rejoice to find himself surrounded by volunteers rather than have recourse to impressment ?<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A great deal might be said on this subject. In 1772 it was ruled that a slave who landed in England immediately became a free man, and could parade the sunny side of Bond Street with the highest in the land. In war time the unfortunate seaman, whether mercantile or royal navy, was a hunted hare, unable to show his face even in the slums for fear of press-gangs. Windsor Castle was built by forced labour. Had any such attempt been made since 1772, what virtuous indignation would there have been on the part of politicians in search of votes for self-aggrandisement or party ! The sailor, having no vote, and rarely a friend amongst our M.P.'s, was ignored. The soldier and marine could not be pressed, but must be brought before a magistrate to be entered in the forenoon when sober ; but they and their friends had votes and the liberty of the subject ; the sailor had no choice but to go.

*Remarks on Naval Administration, in Byam  
Martin's handwriting.*

It was not until the reign of Henry VIII. that the navy became a distinct branch of the public service. A Comptroller of the Navy was first appointed by him, but the duties of that officer do not seem, as of late, to have been confined to the civil affairs of the service ; for we find in the reign of Elizabeth that the Lord High Admiral appointed William Holstok, Esq., Comptroller of the Navy, to go in the command of a squadron on some special service.

The navy was the peculiar care of our illustrious Elizabeth ; she caused a general survey of the ships on her coming to the throne, when special measures were taken to guard against decay. The whole of the fleet at the time consisted only of twenty-four ships of all classes, but it was speedily augmented ; it is, however, worthy of remark that of the fleet under Lord Howard of Effingham, which attacked the Spanish Armada, not one third of them were vessels of the royal navy, the others being furnished by the Cinque Ports, noblemen, and towns on the coast. Elizabeth first fortified Portsmouth, and just in time to frustrate an attack upon it by the French ; she also rendered the port commodious for naval purposes.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is not quite accurate—Portsmouth was reformed by Henry VIII., but long before that it was a military port, with fortifications after the manner of the time. In the reign of Elizabeth, however, it was but little used.—*Note by Professor Laughton.*

It is extraordinary that Plymouth was so long neglected as a naval port. In the year 1668 the establishment of officers and men was so small that they all lived on board the sheer-hulk. I have traced letters of that date from James Duke of York directing the colonel commanding the troops at Plymouth to make such and such communications to the captains of any of his Majesty's ships arriving at that port.

At the period alluded to there was only one house in what is

Commerce, the never-failing companion of naval pre-eminence, sprang into activity soon after the destruction of the Armada.

James Duke of York seems to be the most royal personage who took a great interest in naval affairs. He attended earnestly to the fleet, and was the first to draw up regular instructions for both branches of the naval service.

In the year 1660 the whole fleet consisted but of 65 vessels of all classes ; but in 1678,<sup>1</sup> when a war was expected with France, the increase had been such that the following ships, making a total of 83,<sup>2</sup>

now the extensive and populous town of Devonport ; it was called the Mill House and was on Windmill Hill. In 1668 the manor of Stoke Damerel belonged to the Morris family (the ancestors of the present Sir J. St. Aubyn), received a rent of only 120*l.* a year ; and I can state, upon the authority of Mr. Coles, Sir John's steward, that he received during the latter years of the late war 33,000*l.* a year for the same property. It is now reduced to about 20,000*l.* All the dockyard, except two acres, belongs to Sir John ; it is held on a perpetual lease, subject to a fine certain every seven years of less than 500*l.* and yearly rent 175*l.*—T. B. M.

<sup>1</sup> Out of the numerous fleet, 100 sail, which attacked the Spanish Armada, only 35 sail belonged to the Queen.

The King of Spain arrogantly published a list of his grand Armada, in which he stated that it consisted of 130 ships of war, having on board 19,295 soldiers, 8,450 mariners, 2,088 slaves, 124 noblemen volunteers, 2,180 priests, armed with 2,360 pieces of cannon, and attended by an immense number of small vessels. Of the whole only 54 returned to Spain.—T. B. M. [But see *N. R. S.*, vol. i. p. xl. The 2,180 priests are quite imaginary.]

<sup>2</sup> August 1678 :—

Rate.	Number.
1 . . . . .	5
2 . . . . .	4
3 . . . . .	16
4 of the line . . . . .	33
5 . . . . .	12
6 . . . . .	7
Fire-ships. . . . .	6

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83 T. B. M.



were reported to be in excellent order for service. This, however, is an expression which we must receive with some doubt ; for Mr. Pepys, in his report to the King in 1688, says : ' Whereas amongst other works of your navy, that of graving and well performing the ordinary repairs of your ships in harbour, holds a principal place, as that, to the want of which a great (if not the greatest share of the calamity whereunto they, and particularly the thirty new ships) have been suffered to fall, is to be most rightfully imputed.

' The greatest part, nevertheless, of these thirty ships (without having ever yet looked out of harbour) were let to sink into such distress through decays that their planks became ready to drop into the water, as being with their neighbouring timbers, in many places perished to a powder. I have with my own hands gathered toadstools growing in the most considerable of them, as big as my fists.'<sup>1</sup>

Both Pepys and the Commissioners appointed by the King to look into the state of the fleet give a most deplorable account of the effects of rapid decay, and attribute it very much to the want of care, but most of all to the want of being aired.

<sup>1</sup> It has been asserted of late years that decay and dry rot have been the evils of modern times, and owing to the neglect of the Navy Board ; but Pepys gives undeniable proof of its antiquity. Timber is a perishable article, and whenever ships are built hastily of damp materials, and not under cover, decay will rapidly go on. Since the war ending in 1815 every care has been taken, and I think successfully, to subdue the dry rot.—T. B. M.

The Lord Clyde was built of green timber in eleven months, to place us on an equality with France, who had got ahead of us in ironclads, owing to want of the public pressure that produced the Defence Act. She had one commission only, and, after being a short time in the Steam Reserve, was an admirable nurse for the growth of fungi, some being several feet in length. Mr. Ward Hunt, then First Lord, and the Board went on board to see this extraordinary sight, such as the oldest sailor had never seen before.

This decay has, of late years, gone under the name of 'dry rot,' and its consequences have been most destructive during the late war, so as to leave upon our hands a very defective fleet in 1815. The fact is, ships were so much needed that they were run up in a great haste with green timber, and had no roof to shelter them from the wet and sun, so that many of them were in an active state of decay while in progress of building.

Since the war the ships have been built under roofs, and every care taken to have the materials thoroughly seasoned; they have been five years on the slip, or more, and during that time neither sun nor rain has ever lighted upon them.

The ships afloat have been housed over, and planks taken out of the decks and sides to give free circulation of air, which is an effectual way of checking dry rot. The ships in ordinary,<sup>1</sup> in former days, were so neglected, so damp and close below, that they were in constant progress of decay; but in 1816, soon after my appointment as Comptroller of the Navy, I proposed an entire new system for the government of the ordinary, which was immediately carried into effect—not, however, without having to encounter old prejudices and some opposition; but having the approbation and concurrence of the Admiralty I had power enough as Comptroller to carry out the scheme according to my own fancy. Amongst the few who were disposed to think the consigning the ordinary to the care of naval officers would be inconvenient was my friend Sir George Grey, the brother to the Earl; but on this as on all occasions he was very open and fair in his objections. At the end of a year he wrote to tell me the system answered admirably, and would be the means of

<sup>1</sup> Laid up, when out of commission, at moorings in the various harbours, in long lines called 'Rotten Row,' if I remember aright.

saving the ships from decay. When I find Sir George's letter I will add it in a note. I ever found Sir George a most useful and willing assistant to me in the execution of my duties.

The ordinary was placed under the orders of a post captain and several lieutenants, who live constantly on board, and are made responsible for the good care and cleanness of the ships; and certainly nothing can be more beautiful than the dry, healthy, clean state of the ships. The present Emperor of Russia, when Archduke, said nothing struck him so forcibly as the condition and care of the ships in ordinary.

The stir made by the King and the Parliament in 1688 about the decayed state of the navy occasioned several measures for their better preservation, but without much effect, and it is extraordinary that the 'housing' the ships—that is, building covers over them—was not thought of then, but still more extraordinary that we should have reached the year 1816 before such precaution was taken, although in the reign of Henry VIII. there is the following official proposal respecting the housing the Great Henry: 'It is necessary her masts be taken down and be stowed in the great storehouse at Erith; and also he (the Clerk of the Ships) saith, that if the Great Henry be not housed over in such wise that the same may be sufficiently defended from snow, rain, and sun, it shall be utterly destroyed within a few years, and also he esteemeth that the charge to house it will amount to the sum of 100 marks and above.'<sup>1</sup>

It may be well here to remark that there is a

<sup>1</sup> The Venetians and the Swedes housed their ships sixty years before it was done in England. The want of housing has doubtless been the chief cause of the rapid decay of our ships.—T. B. M.



scarcity of official naval documents prior to the great fire in London, in 1666, when the Navy Office and most of the papers were burnt.

The exertions made to keep up the navy after the report of 1688 were very great, and so continued for many years ; but still, as I may say in the words of Pepys, 'the fleet's decays outgrew their cure.'

Soon after the time of which I am speaking, 1668, the want of ships became so pressing that recourse was then had for the first time to the aid of private shipbuilders, and it appears from official documents that between the years 1700 and 1800, one hundred years, the ships built and repaired by contract, or contracted for, amounted to ninety-three sail of line-of-battle ships, and four hundred and sixty-six frigates and smaller vessels, making a total of 559, which I estimate to have put into the pockets of the private builders upwards of ten millions of money, in return for which they gave many rotten ill-constructed ships.<sup>1</sup> It is, however, proper to remark that very few, and those only of the small class of vessels, were built by contract prior to the year 1750, which, together with the 'decays of the fleet outgrowing their cure,' may account for the great falling off in the numbers in the year 1766, at which time, as I traced by official documents at the Navy Office when I was Comptroller of the Navy, there were only 56 sail of the line, including those in commission and those in ordinary fit for service ;<sup>2</sup> although twenty of the line had been built in the King's yards between 1750 and 1766, and eleven in the merchants' yards, making thirty-one sail of new ships. The King's yards produced an additional seven sail of the line between 1766

<sup>1</sup> The first line-of-battle ship built by contract was in 1755, when Messrs. Wells built the *Elizabeth*.—T. B. M.

<sup>2</sup> See note <sup>1</sup>, on next page.

and 1770, when the armament took place in consequence of what is known by the name of the Falkland Island disturbance.<sup>2</sup> Then, as upon former occasions of the equipment of the fleet, many of the ships which had been reported fit for service were found to require considerable repairs before they could go to sea. Happily war was prevented by the submission of the Spaniards, but the bad condition of the fleet became the subject of public animadversion, and the just reproach of the Parliament.

A general inspection of the ships took place, and such as appeared even in a doubtful state were no longer reported to be in good condition. This was a very necessary measure, but it was one that exhibited to the world the ineffective state of the navy, and presented to our jealous rivals a favourable moment to renew the struggle for maritime superiority. That question had been settled much to our advantage in the seven years' war, then recently closed by the peace of November 1762; when France, greatly humbled in her pride, was made to confess that Britannia still ruled upon the seas, and it was fear, not charity or a peaceable disposition, that made her loth to throw down the gauntlet. France knew that England, once roused

<sup>1</sup> 1766:—

Rates		Guns		Number
1st	. .	100	. .	2
2nd	. .	90	. .	3
"	. .	84	. .	1
3rd	. .	80	. .	2
"	. .	74	. .	27
"	. .	70	. .	3
"	. .	64	. .	12
4th	. .	60	. .	6

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<sup>2</sup> With Spain, our small force there being overpowered by numbers.

into action by an insulting enemy, had scarcely any limits to her capacity for naval warfare, and that, phoenix-like, a new fleet would rise out of the very ashes of those that were mouldering in port. God grant that there may ever be good grounds for such a feeling on the part of other nations, as undoubtedly there will, while our commerce nurses for us a body of seamen such as no other nation can boast. If, however, steam vessels take the place of our beautiful and graceful ships of war, then, indeed, chimney sweepers instead of seamen may be employed to sweep the ocean, and other nations will have to rejoice in an equality with us, produced chiefly by English ingenuity.<sup>1</sup>

I am not meaning to speak in the language of despair because the value of the seaman, as a seaman, is by this change brought to a discount. I view it prospectively as a great evil, but one less vital than many other evils that have crept into the country, or I should rather say have been heaped

<sup>1</sup> It is only wonderful that steam was not earlier applied to marine purposes, considering how long it is since its power was known. Stewart, in his history of the steam engine, says it was known 130 years before the Christian era; and I have seen a machine made on the principle then known, and, although a rough contrivance, it answered surprisingly well; it was made by Mr. Goodrich, of Portsmouth Yard.

I heard General Alava, at the Duke of Wellington's table, describe a steam vessel, as proposed to the Spanish Government 250 years ago, for the purpose of towing ships to Africa; the model, the General said, is now at Madrid.

The last time I ever saw Mr. Canning, a few weeks before his death, he called me back after I had taken leave of him to say he had appointed 2 o'clock that day to receive a person who had desired an interview to state his claim to a reward as the first person who had suggested the application of steam to naval purposes. 'What answer do you think I mean to give him?' said Canning. 'I shall show him this representation of a steam vessel towing a ship.' The book in which this is represented was put into my hands, and, looking at the date, I observed that it was published in 1707.—T. B. M.



upon us in the last six years, by which the power of governing the nation, and of preserving due subordination in our military services, has been destroyed by a resisting temper which questions the right of control, and makes dissension and mutiny take the place of that confidence and discipline which carried Nelson's conquering fleet over the ocean and rendered Wellington invincible by land.

The spirit of the soldier and of the seaman and their inclinations, as well as the spirit and disposition of the nation, must co-operate with their rulers, or vain will be our efforts in the hour of need. A people divided against each other, as we are, nearly in equal numbers, with feelings embittered by the most rancorous party prejudice, the one desiring democracy and confusion, the other struggling to maintain monarchical institutions and good government, are verily in a poor condition for any unity of effort in war. All these bad feelings and their demoralising consequences are visible in the military branches of the public service; and although it is acknowledged that discipline constitutes the strength of the military arm, insubordination is countenanced and encouraged by the Ministers of the present time and in Parliament, to the great injury of both services.<sup>1</sup>

These little puffs of foul wind disturb my conservative temper and throw me now and then out of my course, but I return to the consideration of the state of the fleet two years after the Falkland Island disturbance, [in] 1772, comparatively with its strength in 1766, by which it will be seen that although those in a doubtful state in 1770 were no longer reported in good condition, still the six years show an increase of seven sail of the line, as it appears that there were

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to compare these gloomy forebodings with the practical unanimity now (1900) as to the war in the Transvaal.

sixty-three sail of the line in good condition in November 1772 ;<sup>1</sup> so that in this period the 'decays of the fleet did not outgrow their cure.'

I find that from 1766 to 1772, the last year inclusive, there were built in the King's yards twenty sail of the line, besides twenty-nine largely repaired, and the average number of shipwrights borne during the seven years amounted to 3,112 men. I say nothing of the frigates and smaller vessels built during the same period in the King's yards.

I do not find that any ships were built by contract during the seven years.

The insurrection in America, which led to what is termed the War of Independence, occasioned a number of ships to be commissioned in 1775 ; and in 1778, France having openly avowed her support of the revolted colonies, the whole naval force of England was brought forward to resent so unprovoked an act of hostility.

It was nothing short of insanity on the part of the unfortunate Louis XVI. to give encouragement and help to a people in rebellion against their government, and a very few years brought the recoiling influence of such an example into his own kingdom, so that the blow aimed at another fell upon his own pate.

Spain and Holland also found some pretence to

<sup>1</sup> List of the ships of the line in good condition in Nov. 1772 :—

		Guns		Number
1st	. .	100	. .	3
2nd	. .	90	. .	7
"	. .	84	. .	1
3rd	. .	80	. .	2
"	. .	74	. .	27
"	. .	70	. .	5
"	. .	64	. .	14
4th	. .	60	. .	4

send forth their fleets to share the honour of plucking from England the fame she had acquired in the last war. Thus assailed by such numerous enemies, directing their efforts to the extinction of our power in all quarters of the globe, it was necessary to provide squadrons of equal magnitude to those of our enemies ; and at the same moment we find a powerful fleet in the Channel, in the North Sea, in the East Indies, in America, and in the West Indies.

It may easily be imagined that five years of such demand upon the naval resources of the country was very exhausting, and it appears by official documents that when the ships were paid off on the termination of the war in 1783 they were in a wretched state of feebleness and decay, insomuch that there was not a sound ship in the fleet. Several returning home had foundered on the banks of Newfoundland, owing to their ill-construction and rickety condition, whereby they were without the needful strength and security for such a fabric.<sup>1</sup> They so worked upon their fastenings as in many instances to break the iron bolts, and the ships became a mere bundle of boards. All this was owing to a want of some better system of building, and which has since been brought to such perfection by Sir Robert Sepping<sup>2</sup> that I will venture to say no instance will again occur of loss from want of strength. Whatever may be the faults of Sir Robert in his architectural designs, his merit in the actual construction of a ship, in giving strength and solidity to the frame, is beyond all question—and this is no small merit, whether considered with regard to economy or the thousands of lives it may be the means of saving. A man may be an indifferent

<sup>1</sup> The *Ramillies*, *Centaur* (Ville de Paris, Glorieux, French), and another English ship foundered [the *Hector*]. —T. B. M.

<sup>2</sup> An eminent naval architect, 1768–1840.



judge of the form best calculated to give a ship stability and velocity, but very skilful in the manner of putting the parts together. The scientific contriver who proposes lines of proved excellence as regards the properties of a ship may know but little of the business of a practical shipwright ; hence the mistake and the injury done to the service by appointing Captain Symonds<sup>1</sup> to superintend and direct the operations of a dockyard. Enough has been said to account for the worn and bad plight of the ships at the close of the war in 1783, and it was found upon a general survey that although capable of doing more, had a continuance of war rendered it necessary, still there was not one ship in a condition to be placed in the return as fit for service without repair.

I propose now to give a brief statement of the result of the efforts used for the renovation of the fleet between 1783 and 1790, when at the latter date the Spanish armament took place, and was followed in quick succession by the Russian armament in 1791, and the war in 1793—perhaps the three most interesting periods that can be traced in our naval history, and all tending greatly to exalt the credit of the profession. This also seems a fitting occasion to offer some reflections on our present proceedings as regards the navy, and our prospects in the event of war.

Mr. Pitt, the Minister who ruled the country in 1783-4, though only twenty-four years of age,<sup>2</sup> astonished the world by his political sagacity, his

<sup>1</sup> Which, however, led to great improvement, not only in the comfort and stability of our ships, but in their sailing qualities, also to competition. Admiral Sir W. Symonds was father of the late Admiral of the Fleet Sir Thomas Symonds, G.C.B.

<sup>2</sup> It was said :

‘Surrounding nations did with wonder stare,  
To see a nation in a schoolboy’s care.’

acuteness in matters of finance, his aptness for business in all State affairs, and, last but not least, his protecting vigilance in watching over the colonial, maritime, and the commercial interests of the country. In short, his capacity of mind was such, and his power in debate so overwhelming, that he mastered whatever he grappled with, and he grappled with everything that could tend to promote the credit and prosperity of his country. He seemed so experienced in whatever he took in hand, that, if he had been in practice at it for as many years as he had lived, he could not have been more perfect. It was not likely that such a man would overlook the necessity of bringing the fleet into a state to maintain the high standing of the country in its naval character; and in this he set to work with his accustomed energy, neither sparing money nor means in the accomplishment of so vital a matter. It was no uncommon thing for Mr. Pitt to visit the Navy Office to discuss naval matters with the Comptroller, and to see the returns made from the yards of the progress in building and repairing the ships of the line; he also desired to have a periodical statement from the Comptroller of the state of the fleet, wisely holding that officer responsible, personally to him, without any regard to the Board.<sup>1</sup>

The average number of shipwrights borne in the several dockyards from 1783 to 1790 was 3,117, and in order to hasten the renovation of the fleet they were made to work longer hours throughout the whole time (and particularly during the first two years) than at any former period. Besides which the private shipwright yards were employed extensively in building and repairing ships by contract.

The produce of work in the King's yards in the

<sup>1</sup> The Comptroller, Hydrographer, and many other officers of the civil branch were appointed by patent from the King.

seven years was nine ships of the line built and sixty rebuilt or largely repaired, besides some frigates and smaller vessels, and the casual repairs of the ships in commission and in ordinary. In the merchants' yards, including the ships contracted for at the end of the war, there were twenty-four sail of new ships of the line added to the navy; we had, therefore, ninety-three sail of the line fit for service in 1790.

This, it will be allowed, is a proof of immense exertion, and speaks volumes as to the opinion of Mr. Pitt with respect to the necessity of having the navy in great strength and ready for instant service. Consistently, therefore, with this desire the dock-yards were not less the object of the same provident system; in short, everything seemed in readiness for the hour of need, come when it might; and that is the position in which England ought always to stand with regard to her navy.

How it may fare with us if again plunged into war remains to be seen; but, looking without party prejudice at what has been done and what is doing, I own myself full of alarm at the prospect. When I see presumptuous men in the House of Commons, like Mr. Hume,<sup>1</sup> exercising an undeserved influence, and succeeding in persuading the House 'that we have more ships than we know what to do with,' and adding, with ineffable ignorance of the subject, 'time enough to build when we want ships!'—when I see a credulous Parliament (a Reformed Parliament as it is vauntingly called) so indifferent to the true interests of the country as to permit such language to go uncontradicted—when I hear similar sentiments expressed and acted upon by Sir James Graham, the First Lord of the Admiralty, and hear him also

<sup>1</sup> The great economist of the thirties. His influence led, later on, to panics and undue expenditure.



quote the opinion of Sir Thomas Hardy in support of so dangerous a theory—how can any man who knows what is required on the first burst of war see and hear such things without trembling anxiety? Sir Thomas Hardy is a good practical seaman, and has a well-deserved credit attached to his name from having served as Nelson's captain, and Sir James has often found it convenient to take refuge under this good name when unable otherwise to deny the mischief or absurdity of his schemes. The fact is, Sir J. Graham and his colleagues came into office under a pledge to effect a great diminution in the public expenditure, and the navy chiefly was made the victim of this part of the delusion, by which the Whigs contrived to get the voice of the country in their favour.<sup>1</sup>

The ample, but not more than needful, supply of stores which Sir J. Graham found in the dockyards on his accession to office afforded to his contriving and specious ways an excellent opportunity to humbug the House of Commons and the public.<sup>2</sup> He determined to live, as it were, upon the stock in hand, and, by omitting to introduce the usual sums for the replenishment of the stores, persuaded the country that the diminished estimates resulted from a greater attention to economy than had been exercised by his predecessors. If, therefore, the dockyard magazines are found incomplete we shall know to whom to impute the origin of so great a crime.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Wilberforce said of the Whigs, 'They wish for just as much calamity to the country as might serve to bring them into power.' [A similar thing was said of the Tory Government that appointed Keppel to command the Channel Fleet in 1778.] Sir J. Graham did not measure his quantity of calamity with judgment, he overshot the mark.

<sup>2</sup> Other First Lords of the Admiralty have done the same.

<sup>3</sup> When I left the Navy Office in 1831 the following were the principal articles in store at the beginning of that year, besides

Another contrivance of Sir James Graham's, which took place some considerable time after I was out of office, was the extinction of the navy victualling and transport offices, and the transfer of their duties (the nominal transfer I should say) to the Admiralty. This was hailed with great applause by the House of Commons, and very feeble efforts in Parliament to prevent so great a mischief stood no chance against the powerful and persuasive eloquence of Sir James Graham.<sup>1</sup>

what is remaining to be delivered in existing contracts, viz., ship-building timber equal to a consumption of 4 years. Topmasts equal to a consumption in peace of 7 years. Canvas equal to 2 years' consumption. Hemp and yarn 4 years, besides cordage for one year.

The foregoing quantities are exclusive of the stores set apart and appropriated in the following number of ships of each class, viz. :—

Rigging complete for . . . . .	45 ships of the line
" " " " " " " " " " " "	46 large frigates
Sails, one complete suit to each of . . . . .	50 of the line
" " " " " " " " " " " "	48 frigates
Topmasts . . . . .	52 of the line
" " " " " " " " " " " "	57 frigates
Lower masts all complete for every ship in good condition	
Anchors for . . . . .	55 of the line
" " " " " " " " " " " "	65 frigates

Exclusive of fifteen sail of the line and thirty-eight frigates of different classes in commission and complete with every article.

As we were at the time in very doubtful relations of amity with Russia, I prevailed on Sir J. Graham to obtain a grant in the Estimates of 130,000*l.* more than had been intended in order to get more hemp, observing that hemp rose soon after the breaking out of the last war from 25*l.* to 92*l.* per ton.—T. B. M.

<sup>1</sup> On the King's birthday (1837) I had the honour to dine with Lord Minto at the Admiralty, and sat next to him at dinner. He entered, to my surprise, upon the state of the civil branch of the service and reprobated the system as one impracticable in war, and, in fact, only acted upon in peace in so superficial a manner as to cast ridicule upon the whole scheme.

He said Sir Charles Adam had told him he could not and would not undertake the business at Somerset House as well as

In the debate upon this subject Sir James drew forth the cheers of the House by reading a letter from Lord Melville stating his hearty concurrence in Sir James Graham's views, and declaring that when in office he had concocted a similar scheme for the extinction of the subordinate boards. I dislike violence of language, yet it is painful to me to suppress the indignant feelings with which I refer to this servile insidious statement, which I confidently assert was written solely for the purpose of keeping his (Lord Melville's) son in office. I said so at the time, and the sequel warranted the assertion. Amidst the general wreck of the boards Lord

that at the Admiralty, and the consequence was that the duties of the civil branch of the service were left to irresponsible persons, and that sums of fifty thousand pounds or more were paid without due supervision. That he was convinced in case of war the whole would require to be new modelled.\*

As Lord Minto opened the subject I felt at liberty to go on with it, and expressing an entire concurrence in his opinion, I asked why, with such an impression on his mind, he did not immediately remedy the evil. He said, 'I am sure the Parliament, if the case were fairly stated, would readily agree to the change,' and that it would not cost 20,000*l.* a year. I replied that if he were so confident in the support of Parliament there was the greater reason for making so desirable an alteration. I said I thought he took upon himself a great responsibility in any delay; that I had prepared a plan before I left office, which, getting rid of the bad construction of the Navy Board, would be efficient for every purpose and not cost one-fifth of the sum he had mentioned. Lord Minto said, if he was sure of staying five years in office, he would propose a new system, but it was not worth his while doing so then. I said I would not be five days in office without doing it, and that it would be a sad thing, on the breaking out of war, to find it necessary to remodel the civil government of the service.—T. B. M.

\* It is for consideration how the present system of supply of stores, &c., will answer in war time. My researches at the Record Office and the biographies of naval officers which I have read show me that the three naval lords will have their hands full with the fleets alone.



Melville's son was the only person permitted to remain in office.<sup>1</sup>

I served under Lord Melville in the most confidential situation nearly fifteen years, and I owe him obligations for promoting my sons, but I have never been able to bring myself to entertain the slightest respect for him since the disclosure of that most wicked letter. The persons the most intimate with Lord Melville, those upon whom he relied in the administration of the duties of First Lord of the Admiralty, those who were his most intimate confidants, Sir George Cockburn and Sir George Clerk, had the candour to say, when the letter was read, that it was the first they had ever heard of such an opinion being entertained by Lord Melville! It was likely that I also should have heard something of it, more particularly as I told his Lordship, on two or three occasions, that the construction and constitution of the Navy Board was defective, and that whenever I left office I would put into the hands of the First Lord a plan for amending it. I did not do so at the time of speaking to his Lordship because my arrangement went to give to the office I held greater importance by making the Comptroller a member of the Board of Admiralty. Lord Melville never upon these occasions said anything of changes, still less of the annihilation of the Boards. On the contrary, he appointed his third son, a stripling fresh from Harrow School, to be Deputy Comptroller of the Navy, an office always before held by an experienced naval officer.<sup>2</sup> But enough of this disgraceful matter.

<sup>1</sup> The late Mr. Robert Dundas, who was made storekeeper-general, which post he retained till it was abolished by the revolutionary proceeding of Mr. Childers in 1869-70.

<sup>2</sup> The Commissioners of Naval Inquiry (First Report, page 27) observe with reference to the Naval Board that 'the wisest regulations in these and all other cases will be nugatory if proper care

Having destroyed the machinery by which the civil branch of the service was worked, the next effort of Sir James Graham was, with the same indiscriminate hand, to sweep away many of the most valuable of our artificers, and to disgust all who remained in the dockyards.

I will not swell my paper by going into any detailed statement of the former and present condition of our shipwrights.<sup>1</sup> In time of war their importance and value to the country was well known, and they could then command attention; as they undoubtedly will again when, under similar circumstances, the power of dictating the terms of service changes hands. The Government may grind the men down in peace, but when war comes, and we are plunged into a situation to require great naval efforts, I venture to predict that the injured shipwrights will paralyse the country until they obtain redress, and security against the ungenerous and fickle treatment of every new Board of Admiralty. Every change of Admiralty brings some contriving, meddling member, who wishes to gain personal popularity in Parliament by practising experimental economy on the officers and men of the dockyards. Thus three hundred of our best shipwrights and anchorsmiths lately discharged are employed in Toulon and Brest yards, and probably many more

be not taken in the selection of those who are appointed to offices of great responsibility.

Another set of Commissioners appointed to revise the civil affairs of the navy observe that much depends on having the civil affairs of the navy placed under the management of men of real ability and professional knowledge. If any of the Commissioners are living, how it must astonish them to see a Harrow boy in the situation of Storekeeper-General of the Navy—an office which requires an experienced seaman!—T. B. M.

<sup>1</sup> Much of injustice was done (before Sir James Graham's time) under Lord Melville's administration, to the shipwrights.—T. B. M.

at the other French ports. Our friend Nicholas of Russia has also gladly availed himself of the services of active, intelligent men who, scorning to become inmates of our poor-houses in England, find a protecting, encouraging, liberal welcome into the service of foreign princes. It is really heartbreaking to a man who loves his country to see the mischief that is done by such ill-devised economy.

In the latter part of the last war, indeed throughout the whole of it, from 4,353 to 4,540 shipwrights and their apprentices, borne in the King's yards and the merchants' yards, aided extensively in building and repairing ships of the line; and yet it was impossible to get the quantity of work done which the exigencies of the service required. Although we captured and destroyed in the course of the war 156 ships of the line, 382 large frigates, 662 corvettes, and altogether 2,506 armed ships and vessels, which might almost lead to a conclusion that the ocean had been swept of our enemies; yet in 1814 it was necessary to strain our efforts to the utmost to keep pace with the French in building; and, had the war continued, the French, then in possession of Holland and Antwerp, would in a short time have outnumbered us, so ample were the means and so determined was Bonaparte to try and master us on our own element. If such was the case when our shipwrights were so numerous, what are we to expect when any emergency may call for the same exertions on our part now that that class of artificer has been so greatly reduced in numbers? <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I have just now (1838) received from Mrs. Marsden a memoir of the life of her intelligent husband, who was many years Secretary to the Admiralty. He says (page 111): 'More than common efforts (1805) were necessary in the naval department; for, notwithstanding the severe losses the enemy had sustained, in the destructive battle of the Nile and other subsequent actions,



I stated the above circumstances to a Committee of the House of Commons, and I did so to demonstrate to them the necessity of using a time of peace to bring the fleet into a powerful state ; but it was in vain to talk to men who had pledged themselves on the hustings to an indiscriminate reduction of the public expenses.

I had an opportunity of witnessing the efforts made by Bonaparte to create a numerous fleet. I was appointed by a Commission under the Great Seal to meet Austrian and French Commissioners to carry into execution the 14th article of the treaty of peace respecting a division of the fleet and naval property between France and Holland.

I readily admit that pensions had been carried such gigantic exertions were made, both by French and Spaniards under the influence of Bonaparte, that their united force at this time exhibited a numerical superiority of ships ready for service. The impression made by this state of things will best appear by the following note, written by the Minister (Mr. Pitt) :—

“ Downing Street : Tuesday, April 30th, 1805,  
“  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 2 o'clock A.M.

“ On returning from the House I have just found these papers ; they are of the most pressing importance. I will go to bed for a few hours, but will be ready to see you as soon as you please, as I think we must not lose a moment in taking measures to set afloat every ship that by any species of extraordinary exertion we can find means to man. At such an emergency I am inclined to think many measures may be taken to obtain a supply of men for the time, which would not be applicable to any case less immediately urgent.”

Under this pressure the Board of Admiralty adopted an expedient that became the subject of much hostile animadversion, namely, that of doubling (as it is termed), cross-bracing and otherwise hastily strengthening several ships that had been considered as unworthy of the expense attending a thorough repair, but which, by this summary process, were rendered fully adequate to temporary service. How successful were the efforts of the civil departments on this momentous occasion is evinced by the proud state of the force with which the great Lord Nelson went into battle in the October following.—T. B. M.

too far, greatly too far, and some alteration not affecting existing interests was very desirable ; but, as prospective reward, resting upon uniform diligence and good character, is the best stimulant to exertion and integrity, a certain portion of the officers of the dockyards, and others whose merit and good conduct raise them to the highest position in their respective classes, have as much right to pensions as ministers, judges, soldiers, and seamen. Officers holding responsible situations in the civil departments of the navy have a fair claim to retiring allowances when, after a long period of service, they become unfit for business.

In like manner the shipwrights, who are as valuable to the State as the soldiers or the sailors, have hitherto been entitled to a pension under certain limitations, but now they are deprived of it. At any rate, those meritorious, skilful workmen who are placed to superintend the work of the shipwrights ought in policy and fairness to have fixed salaries, and retiring allowances when no longer able to do anything ; this would be giving encouragement to good conduct, for all will endeavour to recommend themselves for selection to such situations.

Everything by the late regulations has been swept away from the dockyard officers and men, and they have been furnished with grounds for complaint of which I fear we may hear a great deal at a very inconvenient time. The shipwrights, who are the mainspring of all naval movements, will assuredly throw us on our backs when once we are involved in war, if the Admiralty, as their first and voluntary act, do not place the men on a proper footing with regard to wages and prospective rewards. Persons in subordinate situations should never have justifiable grounds for demanding redress ; if they

have any real grievance, let it be anticipated and corrected in time. Moderate voluntary grants may prevent turbulent and great demands.<sup>1</sup>

This is a subject upon which I can write in this private memo., but I never open my lips upon it lest the currency of such language should tend to accelerate the mischief we must all endeavour to prevent. I write upon it because it is one of the difficulties which I foresee as likely to prove embarrassing in the event of war; but it is only one of many dangers that we shall have to contend with at the moment when the whole strength of the country ought to be united against the common enemy.

All the injurious measures which I have related, and others which I could enumerate, greatly affect and distress the civil branches of the service; not only so as regards individuals, but also with respect to the well-working of the public business. The very beginning of war (I wish Sir J. Graham<sup>2</sup> may be the First Lord of the Admiralty when it takes place) will convince the Admiralty that they are utterly helpless without the assistance of an inferior department to attend to all the detail and drudgery of the duties of the civil branch of the service. The Admiralty will have quite enough to do to give a

<sup>1</sup> The money allowed by Order in Council, under the head of 'Chip Money,' has been taken from the men in violation of an actual compact between the Admiralty and the men. It is true chips, and subsequently chip money, had its origin in an abuse, but it grew into an acknowledged right, and as the shipwrights in private yards are allowed to take away the chips it seems to afford the King's shipwrights a just ground of complaint. The offer of a compensation for chip money originated with the Admiralty. The Admiralty, taking advantage of a moment of profound peace, deprived the men of the compensation; and when we have another war, be it when it [*sentence unfinished*].—T. B. M.

<sup>2</sup> His wish was realised. Sir J. G. was First Lord when the Russian war occurred.



sort of general supervision over the inferior department, and to attend to the general directing duties which belong to them with reference to the fleets in all quarters of the globe.<sup>1</sup>

The thing cannot go on as it is, and the Admiralty will have to remodel the whole system, at a time when they will be half distracted by the multitude of the calls upon their time and attention to other pressing and important matters.

It will be well for them and happy for the country if they take the question up while they have leisure to attend to it. Napier in his 'Campaigns' (vol. v. page 250) says: 'War tries the military framework; it is in peace the framework itself must be formed.' This hint may be worth attention; it applies to the navy with full as much force as to the army.

I am no advocate for restoring the defunct Boards to what they were; I have before expressed my opinion of their ill-construction, and I have a paper,<sup>2</sup> long since prepared, suggesting what I conceive to be the best system for the prompt and efficient discharge of all the civil duties of the navy. The foundation of my scheme is the appointment of an intelligent responsible person in the quality of Comptroller, who shall also be a member of the Board of Admiralty, and as such shall exercise supreme authority over all the officers in the civil branch of the service. I will, however, state my plan<sup>2</sup> as a sort of appendix at the end of this volume.

Another class of shipwright officer, those educated at the College at Portsmouth purposely to supply the dockyards with scientific men, fell also under the desolating hand of Sir J. Graham. Under a solemn assurance of progressive rise to the highest classes the King in Council invited the entrance of

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 385.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

young men at the College, giving a preference to those who upon public examination should be found the most fit for admission. After seven years of scientific and practical education these young men were gradually brought forward in the yards in the inferior stations, waiting advancement to the higher places, and ultimately promised to be made surveyors of the navy. Some of these highly-educated persons proved valuable acquisitions to the service, and showed talents of the first order, both in science and as practical shipwrights. But their qualifications were disregarded, and the royal word forfeited under the advice of the First Lord of the Admiralty, who introduced a fancy builder, Captain Symonds, to take charge of the whole duties of the dockyards, for which (whatever may be his good judgment about the lines of a ship) he is totally incompetent. The duties of a dockyard are manifold and highly important, and a man need to be a thorough practical shipwright to detect false workmanship, and to have a just notion of the value of workmanship, otherwise he cannot usefully superintend the construction and repair of the fleet. Scarcely had this unjust measure been adopted when seven of the persons alluded to applied for permission to leave the service; those who remain are the worst of them, but all are discontented. It was one of the conditions of their first entry at the College that, being educated at the public expense, they should not withdraw from the service for a certain number of years without forfeiture of 500*l.*; and one of them, who is now the chief professor of mathematics in the service of the United States of America, offered to pay; the others were allowed to go without any forfeit.

So much for the inflictions upon the civil branch of the service, and, to give the devil his due, I must say Sir James Graham has not forgotten those under

his protection who belong to the fleet. In the rapid course of his destroying energies the officers of the navy have been deprived of those honorary rewards and distinctions which they highly prized, namely, the appointments of generals and colonels of marines. I attribute this to Sir J. Graham because he was a member of the committee of the House of Commons which deprived the service of these boons, and he was the First Lord of the Admiralty at the time. It is true certain sums of money under the name of 'good service money' may be given at the discretion of the Admiralty; but why take from the navy the gratifying distinction of those marine appointments? The navy have a right to be considered at the head of the marine corps; throughout the late war the average number of marines embarked, and consequently under the immediate orders and command of naval officers, amounted to 30,000 men. I made an effort to prevent this ungenerous act towards the service by publishing the following letter.<sup>1</sup>

Whether the taking the marines from the navy was Sir J. Graham's own act, or done jointly with his committee, I cannot say; but he had the unquestioned credit of being the sole author of the Order in Council by which admirals and captains are deprived of one-third of their prize money, to give a larger proportion to the inferior classes. By this arrangement the officers who are accountable for the legality of all captures, and responsible for all losses, lose their customary proportion of prize money in order to drivel it away in fractions amongst the multitude to whom it is no object.

A very heavy responsibility<sup>2</sup> devolves on com-

<sup>1</sup> See next page.

<sup>2</sup> As has been seen recently in the detention of foreign ships off Lourenço Marques in the present Transvaal War (1900). The



manders of ships when detaining vessels for any alleged breach of neutrality, and in the present day it appears doubtful.

*Naval and Military Rewards.*

The recent debate on Military and Naval Rewards, by appointments to ancient and complimentary situations connected with the two services, *now* represented under the unpopular title of '*sinecure appointments*,' has induced me to take from authentic documents an account of the annual expense of the nine situations of this description to which naval officers are eligible, and it amounts to only 4,644*l*.

The offices alluded to are those of Vice- and Rear-Admiral of England, both of great antiquity; the one is an expense to the public of 432*l*. a year, the other 332*l*. per annum—making a total of 764*l*.

The pay of the general, lieutenant-general, and major-general of marines, and of four colonelcies held by naval officers incurs an expense of 3,880*l*. per annum.

The average length of service of the nine officers holding the above appointments gives to each fifty-four years.

It has been erroneously represented that giving to naval officers honorary rank in the marines is an injury to that justly respected and valuable corps. It is not so; if those appointments should be discontinued, no advantage whatever would accrue to the marines, for their effective staff is complete.

chance of loss is so great and the reward of success so small, that it is doubtful if any naval officer will incur the risk on his own responsibility.

The system was adopted when the marine corps was established, which being instituted as an appendage to the navy, such appointments gave a desirable union to the services, complimentary to the one and without prejudice to the other.

Persons who think economy consists in the mere reduction of expense, without reference to its effect upon the well-working of the public service ; and those who from captious feeling think everything ill-bestowed which falls not to their own lot, are not likely to come to just conclusions upon such subjects ;—the one *cannot*, the other *will* not, comprehend how it is that distinctive honours with small emoluments can operate with advantage to the national interest :—they judge of others as they feel themselves, and are therefore incapable of estimating the better and the nobler sentiments of those whose rivalry has consisted in an honourable struggle for the distinctions (few in number) which the country has hitherto so wisely held out to the fair ambition of its officers, and which, in the equity of its application, has invariably fallen to the most deserving ;—to some who commenced their career as common seamen, and to more than one brought into the service by impressment. Let it not then be said that such things are given with undue favour, or that reward is withheld from merit, however humble the origin of the individual.

If an armed force is necessary for the protection of the country, how is it possible to adopt a cheaper or more appropriate way to approve and mark the services of those whose merit and good fortune has made them the most conspicuous in the brilliant achievements which, when danger threatened, rendered both services so dear to the country ? Then it was—(and who can forget the sensation it produced ?)—then it was that the House of Commons

put forth, in glowing language, its encouraging and generous expressions of applause,—thus responding with true magnanimity to the enthusiastic feelings with which such exploits were hailed throughout the kingdom. How changed the times! when those persons, *then* the objects of their country's admiration and gratitude, are now stigmatised as unfit to be trusted in the national councils,<sup>1</sup> and the pittance enjoyed by a few of the best of them pointed at as '*a sinecure*,' though earned by the blood they have shed, and the toil of years of service in every climate. This altered feeling, though confined, as it no doubt is, to a few individuals, reminds me of what took place after Lord Hawke defeated the French fleet in 1759. It is stated that our ships were *many months* off Brest waiting for the French fleet, both being determined upon a fight, and the most intense anxiety awaited the issue of the battle. During the long cruise of our fleet every care was taken to send out frequent and abundant supplies of fresh provisions, vegetables, and porter; but after the defeat of M. de Conflans, the winds prevented the customary supplies reaching the fleet, and the officers and men were put on short *allowance*, which induced the sailors to think that, as the danger of invasion was over, their friends in England had *forgotten them*; and there came in from the fleet the following witty impromptu:—

Ere Hawke did bang  
M. Conflans,  
You sent us beef and beer :  
Now Monsieur's beat,  
We've nought to eat,  
Since you have nought to fear !

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<sup>1</sup> *Vide* the speeches of Mr. Hume and others, with reference to the Duke of Wellington and the military and naval officers then in office.



And so now, with some persons, a peace of seventeen years has worn out the impression of *former services*, and a penny-wise and pound-foolish economy is to overrule all better feelings.

The last time I ever saw Lord Collingwood, he was on the point of stepping into his boat, never again to touch the British shore. We walked together for half an hour, and as long as I live I shall remember the words with which, in his accustomed mildness of expression, he alluded to the sacrifices our professional duties exact of us. He told me the number of years he had been married, and the number of days he had been with his family since the war commenced (then of many years' duration). 'My family are *actually strangers to me*.' He was greatly overcome by the feelings thus excited, and, taking me by the hand, he said, 'What a life of privation ours is—what an abandonment of everything to our professional duty, *and how little do the people of England know the sacrifices we make for them!*' With this he turned from me to hide the tear which ran down his manly cheek, and, saying 'Farewell!' walked to his boat.

Had it pleased God to spare the life of this excellent man, he would have held one of the appointments in question,—he too might have lived to hear that he was enjoying a *sinecure*! Shame! shame upon our country!

My calculation has been confined to the navy, because it is not in my power to get at the particulars of the several appointments of a similar description in the army; but in casting my eye over the list of officers holding such situations, every name is familiar as associated with some brilliant service, and each may be traced in the history of the exploits of our exemplary and glorious army. And let not the cold unfeeling promoters of a false economy touch with

their chilling notions the hearts of the British people—and thus, by the trickery of petitions to Parliament, make, as it were, the nation a party to acts which, on reflection, every honest Briton would disown. Turn only to the historians of the Peninsular and Waterloo campaigns, and see how, under the guidance of the illustrious Wellington, those very men, now ungenerously dragged before the public as *sinecurists*, thought no sacrifice too great for the glory of their country ; and it would be well if those whom they so faithfully served would refresh their recollection, and renew their affections for men whose matchless heroism saved the nation. It is against such men that the voice of clamour is raised, and against the professional prospects of those who are ready to emulate such noble deeds, that we now hear so much of the abolition of the small military governments, which, as a national expense, is a mere drop in the ocean ; but they are things greatly prized as the distinctions and rewards of brilliant services. There is nothing more striking in the accounts referred to than the invariable devotion of all ranks of officers in directing and encouraging by their example the gallant men who, confiding in the often tried worth and valour of their leaders, became irresistible, whether in the field or in the operations of a siege ; and instances are given of officers, in the agony of severe and undressed wounds, insisting on being carried forward in the arms of others, to point the way to the practicable breach, or to encourage their men to an unflinching perseverance ; but if proof be necessary of this noble devotion to the interests and honour of their country, it is to be found in the melancholy fact that 3,807 *British* officers were killed and wounded in the campaigns alluded to.







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In 1895: Vol. III. *Letters of Lord Hood, 1781-82.* Edited by Mr. David Hannay.

Vol. IV. *Index to James's Naval History*, by Mr. C. G. Toogood. Edited by the Hon. T. A. Brassey.

Vol. V. *Life of Captain Stephen Martin, 1666-1740.* Edited by Sir Clements R. Markham.

In 1896: Vol. VI. *Journal of Rear-Admiral Bartholomew James, 1752-1828.* Edited by Professor J. K. Laughton, with the assistance of Commander J. Y. F. Sullivan.

Vol. VII. *Holland's Discourses of the Navy*, 1638 and 1658. Edited by Mr. J. R. Tanner.

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In 1899: Vol. XV. *History of the Russian Fleet during the Reign of Peter the Great. By a Contemporary Englishman.* Edited by Vice-Admiral Sir Cyprian A. G. Bridge.

Vol. XVI. *Logs of the Great Sea Fights*, 1794-1805 (Vol. I.). Edited by Rear-Admiral T. Sturges Jackson.

Vol. XVII. *Papers relating to the First Dutch War*, 1652-54 (Vol. II.). Edited by Mr. S. Rawson Gardiner.

In 1900: Vol. XVIII. *Logs of the Great Sea Fights* (Vol. II.). Edited by Rear-Admiral T. Sturges Jackson.

Vol. XIX. *Journals and Letters of Sir T. Byam Martin.* (Vol. III.). Edited by Sir R. Vesey Hamilton.

Other works in preparation, in addition to further volumes of Mr. Gardiner's *Dutch War*, Sir Vesey Hamilton's *Letters of Sir Byam Martin*, and Mr.

Leyland's *Blockade of Brest*, are *The Naval Tracts of Sir William Monson* (probably in four volumes), to be edited by Mr. M. Oppenheim; *The Journal of Captain* (afterwards Sir John) *Narborough, 1672-73*, to be edited by Professor J. K. Laughton; a *Calendar of the MSS. in the Pepysian Library*, to be edited by Mr. J. R. Tanner; *Official Documents illustrating the Social Life and Internal Discipline of the Navy in the XVIIIth Century*, to be edited by Professor J. K. Laughton; *Documents relating to the Suppression of the Jacobin Revolution at Naples in June 1799*, to be edited by Mr. H. C. Gutteridge; *Reminiscences of Commander James Anthony Gardner, 1775-1806*, to be edited by Sir R. Vesey Hamilton; *The Correspondence of Admiral John Markham, 1801-7*, to be edited by Sir Clements R. Markham; and a *Collection of Naval Songs and Ballads*, to be edited by Mr. C. H. Firth and Mr. Henry Newbolt. It is also proposed to issue from time to time a volume of Miscellaneous Short Papers or Collections of Letters, several of which have been already secured.

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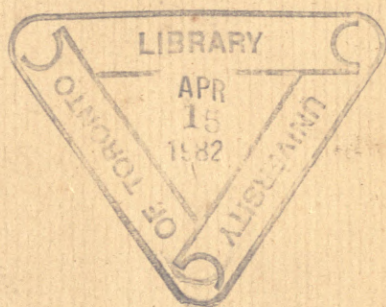


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